

THE CHINA  
WEEKLY

# REVIEW

報論評氏勒密

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

*February 14, 1948*

**“LOOK AT THE RECORD....”**

AN EDITORIAL

**Some Facts About Tung-Chi**

Li Po-ti

**Yunnan Roundup**

Helen P. F. Shih

**When Will Reds Cross Yangtze?**

Frederick Lee

**“SHOOT TO KILL”**

AN EDITORIAL

# Tires and Tubes BY B.F. Goodrich



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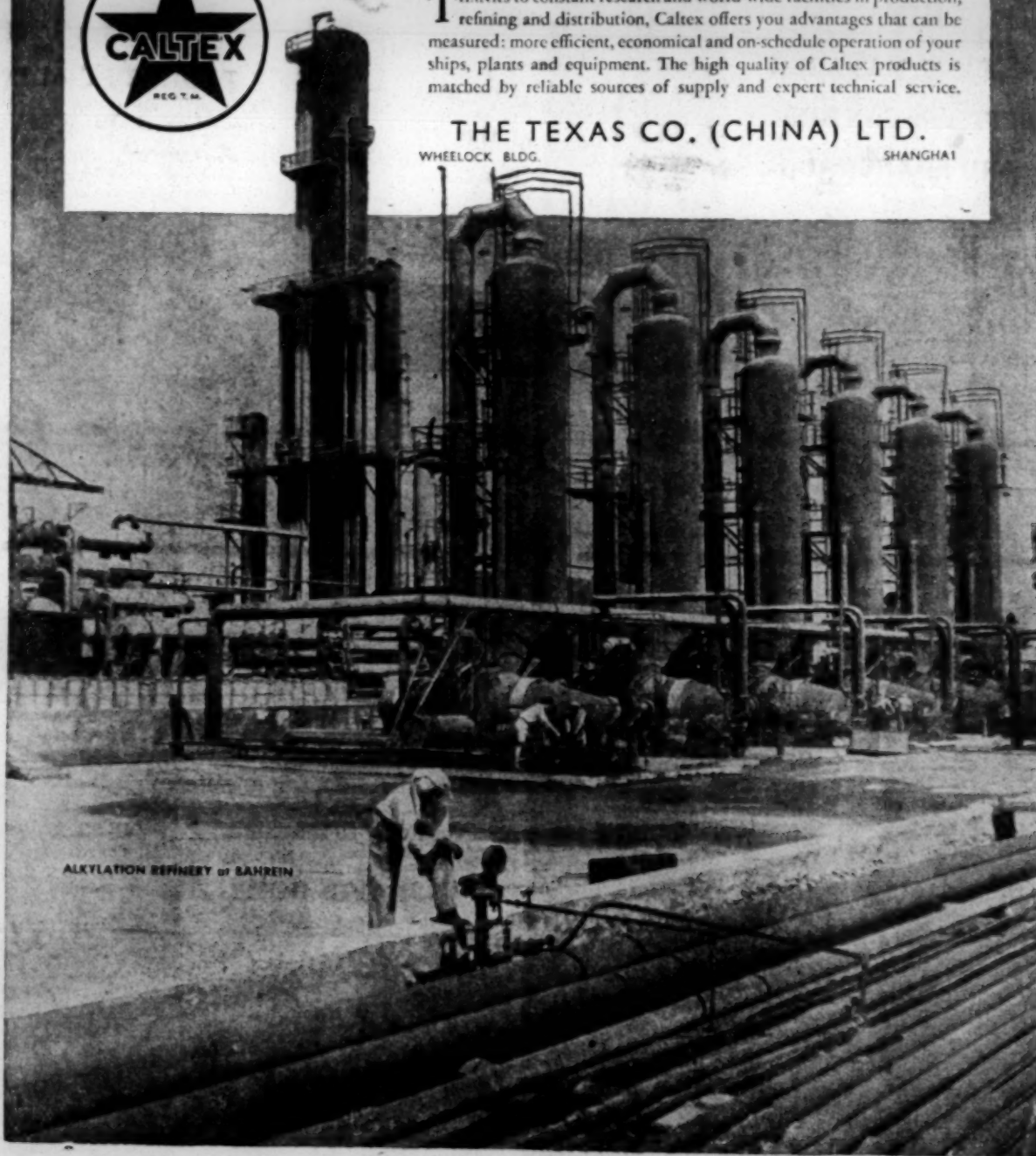


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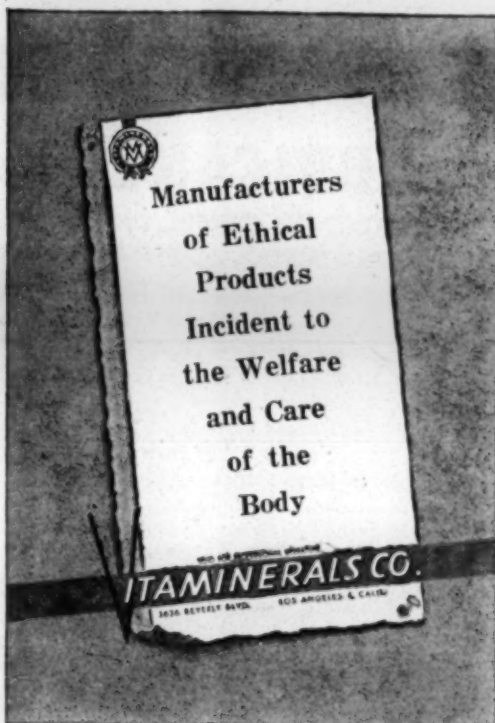
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# LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited; their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

## A Father's Story

To The Editor:

As I am a law-abiding businessman, I mind my own business and I have tried and have succeeded so far in keeping my daughter, a student in Tung Chi University, from joining any parades and demonstrations staged by the students. Throughout the recent Tung Chi strike she stayed at home.

On January 29, she went to school to find out whether the strike had ended. On her way, she saw many armed and stern-looking policemen. Surprised and frightened, she turned back and met two other fellow students who told her that negotiations were going on between the Mayor and the students. The three then evaded the police by going through the fields and along narrow paths and finally joined the main line of students who trusted the Mayor for his supposed kindness to the students.

They waited and no result came but instead their representatives were detained by the Mayor, and one student from St. John's University was arrested. Then, they saw the mounted police rushing and dispersing the group of on-lookers which numbered over 1,000. At the same time, as the mounted police came rushing towards the students waving their swords from left to right, cries arose and many fell to the ground. Some rolled into the creek beside the main road and some were hurt by the swords. My daughter was hit on the head and blood streamed down her face and onto her coat.

In the confusion, cries of, "Return to us our representatives," were heard. The Mayor was already in his car and drove away. Later, my daughter and some 40 other wounded students were taken to the Sino-American Hospital where they received medical treatment. Three of them (two girls) were seriously wounded. The rest of the students went back to the Tung Chi Engineering School building, while my daughter came home at seven.

This morning, the newspaper headlines read, "Tung Chi Students Assault Mayor," and students are arrested and charged with having beaten up the Mayor.

I am at a loss as whether to believe the Government-controlled newspaper or my own daughter whose head is still bound up in bandages.

Mayor Wu has always been clever and tolerant with the students. He might have been pushed and have fallen to the ground, as hundreds of others fell, when the heroes on horseback came rushing at the unarmed students. This should not be taken as an exaggerated story and used an excuse for arresting more students.

As we learned last May, more pressure will only bring more agitation, which we cannot afford to have at this critical moment. I am worried when I see in the eyes of my daughter, who has always been a mild girl, the kindling fire of hatred and anger. The Kowloon Incident parade in Shanghai passed peacefully. Why not the same now?

A FATHER.

Shanghai,  
January 30, 1948.

## THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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## Superior Grammar

To The Editor:

Of late, I have been reading what I consider to be the best grammar on English. It is entitled, "How Should The Chinese Learn English?" (中國人學英文). This excellent book has been recently published by the Kaiming Book Company and the author is Mr. K. K. (呂叔湘 being his Chinese name) who is an experienced teacher as well as a popular scholar.

Mr. K. K. is a non-conformist. In this book, he takes much trouble to get his readers acquainted with the English way of thinking and stresses inflections, unlike those writers of grammars who simply set forth intricate examples and tables full of learned terminology and elaborate definitions and no end of Roman and Arabic numerals.

The whole book consists of 10 chapters, dealing respectively with the method of study, pronunciation, spelling, parts of speech, structure of sentences, etc., each with detailed and plain explanations. In my opinion, this book has three outstanding features which are hardly to be found in other books of this nature.

First, there is its informality. The whole book is given as an intimate, yet thoroughly enlightening dialogue between a host and his guest. You, as the guest, are neither taken for a nincompoop who knows nothing, nor a mature student who only wants a grand review and a finishing touch. It does not reek of the academic den, but comes out of a lively classroom. So when you read it, you never feel tired, or find the subject dry. Behind this apparent casualness is sound planning and subtle organization. The very informal character of the book gives the author an opportunity to concentrate on what is the most important and to lead you step by step from the simple to the complex.

Secondly, there is the constant use of the comparative method. Very often the author compares the English grammar with Chinese. There are many English grammatical rules which appear to be rather queer and unnatural to Chinese students. For instance, why can we not say "I have gone yesterday?" In English, for the Chinese "昨天我已經去過" when we can say "I have gone" for "我已經去"? Why can we not say "I very happy" for "我很快樂"? Why should we have both the present and the present progressive tenses at the same time? And why should we have a puzzling perfect progressive tense in addition to the perfect one? All these "whys" are doubtful only to us Chinese students. So, I think, the comparative method used in Mr. K. K.'s book is the most effective way to enable the Chinese student to master the English way of thinking. This is truly the only means of mastering the language.

Thirdly, there are numerous problems explained and illustrated which are not

dealt with in the commonplace grammars. For example, the author points out that in actual speech and writing we very often meet with such a sentence as, "Who did you meet there?" although the grammarians all insist that we should say "Whom did you meet there?"

Indeed, the book is the crystallization of the author's long accumulated teaching experience. It is a boon to students of English. After having read it, I have resolved many doubtful problems and puzzling questions. Therefore, through your valuable columns I wish to recommend it to all the readers of your Review who wish to master the English language.

TU CHANG-CHIH.

Wukang, Hunan,  
January 23, 1948.

## Scant Salary

To The Editor:

I have been a subscriber of your esteemed Review for three months. It is a very short time and too short a period for me to understand your magazine well, but I still have acquired much knowledge and have succeeded in grasping the chief points of the current events from the Review through reading it frequently. I had intended to enjoy reading it during the cold winter vacation but am disappointed to find that my uncle is no longer able to afford to pay for my subscription. He wrote in his recent letter to me: "I know the Review is the only good impartial English magazine and am glad that you are interested in reading it. But because of my scant salary which is never paid in time, I am forced to cease your subscription to this magazine. However, you may read it in some book stores..."

At the cold winter nights in my solitary vacation, without this earnest, instructive friend accompanying me, I cannot but feel very sorrowful.

Dear Editor, let me bid you adieu for a while. I will be your reader again as soon as I have money.

C. C. Y.

Sian, Shensi,  
January 29, 1948.

(Through the kindness of an American subscriber, the REVIEW has the pleasure of extending Mr. C. C. Y.'s subscription for a further three months. —EDITOR.)

## Ready For Showdown

To The Editor:

In a recent interview with a Hsin Min Pao reporter, Dr. Fei Hsiao-tung, a well known professor of Ching Hwa University, Peiping, gave his views on the prevailing Far Eastern situation which the translator believes reflect the opinion of the majority of democratic and intellectual elements in China. The following is the gist of this interview:

Q. The Chinese situation seems to be changing. What is your opinion?

A. At such times changes are always possible. This change is pivoted on American foreign policy towards the Far East. It is very likely that the American Congress will decide on the future course of US foreign policy toward China this month, and take action accordingly. The US hopes to solve the Chinese problem without using force so that, on the one hand, the Communists will be checked and, on the other hand, reconstruction in China can begin. The question is how the problem is to be tackled and whether the solution will be acceptable to the Nationalist Government.

Fundamentally, the US wants to support the Nationalist Government, even though the latter is corrupt, inefficient and undemocratic and not at all comparable to the American style of gov-

ernment. But as long as this Government meets American requirements, aid to China, both economic and otherwise, will certainly be forthcoming. Some people have the mistaken conception that the US is incapable of helping China. But, as a matter of fact, she is prepared to help the Nationalist Government, but on her own terms.

America is ready for a showdown. She will not stand by and see the Nationalists beaten, and the Communists take over, for such a new government would be fundamentally opposed to the US. If the Communists should get sufficient strength to actually threaten the very existence of the Nationalist Government, I believe the US would avert such a catastrophe by making a strong effort to stop the war.

From the beginning, America has tried to support the middle section in China—the third party. But up to the present this party has been extremely weak. Although America may wish to set up a dominant third party in the government, it is probably too late for such a step. That the US is having difficulty in forming a China policy is obvious. It would be virtually impossible now for China to go back to conditions wherein a second PCC could be set up.

Despite the contrast between the US and the USSR, the world is moving towards the road to socialism, and America is no exception. For the time being, Americans are living a fairly good life and the economic situation there is still comparatively stable. But should her people be confronted with severe economic difficulties or another depression, they will take a turn, too. The Soviet Union has taken note of this point. Therefore, she will retreat on any point, but her principles and economic rights.

The Chinese Communists are linked with Russia, at least in respect to principles, ideals, and methods. For some time they hoped to rebuild national industry through American loans. Now that hope is shattered. They would rather prolong the fight, skipping over the capitalistic industrial period to the socialistic period. Nowadays, our national boundaries are of secondary importance. The best political stand in the present world is one that will solve the people's livelihood problems. Nationalism is a thing of the past.

YUTING KAO.

Peiping,  
January 27, 1948.

## The People's Fury

To The Editor:

Under the name of keeping the Chinese citizens free from insalubrious environment, the Hongkong Government has performed a "kind" deed in destroying all the Chinese houses, arresting and firing the Chinese people in Kowloon City. As the story has been revealed in detail in the press, it seems to be needless to repeat it here. What result will be forthcoming from the protest lodged by our government, we can hardly predict. But, being a lao pai hsing of China, I can't help thinking that our Government is too weak to protect its subjects from foreign infringement.

I can see no effective measures adopted by our Government to prevent British violations, but only such words as "regret," "request," "severe protest" and the like. I don't mean to clamor for paying the Hongkong Government in its own coin, but as Kowloon City is our territory, our Government should at least put soldiers there to protect our own people. It is, I believe, not by words but by acts that we can keep ourselves free from insult.

Though the Chinese Government appears uneasy and incompetent, the



patriotic Chinese can't keep silent any longer. They are rising up in all their fury against British Imperialism in China. It was reported that the demonstrating students set fire to the British Consulate and a few British-owned firms in Canton on January 16. It is to be regretted that the outraged Chinese acted contrary to the formal diplomatic procedures adopted by our humble government, but such behavior undoubtedly resulted from the procrastination and incompetency of our Government in handling this affair.

As this case is gradually becoming more complicated and serious, we can hardly imagine what will become of it, but I am sure that it will go from bad to worse if the British Government thinks the Chinese people are as timorous as their government, and continues to handle affairs with high-handed measures, disregarding the dignity and strength of the Chinese people.

CHUNG YEAN-LO.

Canton,  
January 30, 1948.

## General Li's Views

To The Editor:

Enclosed is a statement setting forth the personal views of General Li Tsung-jen on the improvement of China's existing conditions. General Li is a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of China, and I think your readers might be interested in his opinions.

"Politically three steps have to be taken for the betterment of the Chinese government. They are to increase its efficiency, eliminate its corruption and broaden its foundation.

"To achieve the first end, the foremost thing to do is to simplify the administrative structure, for only then will less red tape be gone through and action expedited.

"The coordination and cooperation among various government branches must be encouraged. Once intellectual and material resources are pulled together for use by all with one single aim in view, no fear of friction and frustration need be entertained.

"When a clearcut demarcation of duties and powers is made, each branch of the government will know what is expected of it, and then wasteful duplication and the shirking of responsibilities will be eradicated.

"Still no efficiency of a government can be fully attained, if corruption is allowed to exist; and the most effective way of eliminating this is to do away with personal favoritism. Severe punishment, if meted out to the offenders, will also help remove the common public curse.

"But the positive way of dealing with this is to cultivate honesty and loyal service by raising the pay of government functionaries at least to such a level as to sustain their own living and that of their dependents, for a person is conscious of honor or disgrace only when he is well fed and warmly clad.

"An efficient and honest government is as urgently required by this country as a government whose foundation is broadened. Irrespective of their party affiliations a greater number of qualified and talented men or women of good character must be admitted into the government service.

"Meanwhile the people must be educated politically so that they may be able to exercise wisely the rights vested upon them by the new Constitution. Emphasis should also be laid on guaranteeing to the people their freedom of speech, press, association and academic research.

"Besides political improvement, China's economic problems call for early solution. During the war years and those

immediately following, China has been suffering acutely from a vicious inflation and heavy deficit.

"Efforts should, therefore, be concentrated upon the stabilization of currency and the balancing of the budget. Negatively, an end must be put to the unnecessary expenditures of the government, and on the part of the people frugality and thrift must be practised.

"Such negative measures must be supplemented by positive action. Effective plans have to be devised to augment revenue by increasing both industrial and agricultural production.

"If it is difficult to adopt actions in the former direction because it involves greater financial and technical resources unavailable in the present circumstances, there is less reason why agricultural production should not be immediately increased.

"When China's own financial and economic situation improves and when she proves worthy of foreign help, it can be expected that such aid will be forthcoming. As it is, China welcomes American help; but she must go ahead with her own salvation, as if no help were available from abroad.

"The Chinese people are always glad to receive 'friends from afar.' Diplomatically our traditional policy is to maintain good relationship with neighbors. In the case of the United States, China aims at strengthening the traditional friendship and hopes to forge a closer link.

"With the Soviet Union we are desirous of improving our relations as a matter of practical necessity. Because of our geographical propinquity, problems are bound to arise. Since we know they cannot be solved through any channel other than peace, we propose to exert more efforts for their amicable solution.

"As China's commercial relation with Britain is the longest, having extended for over two hundred years and reached enormous proportions, we are looking forward to its early revival both in volume and kind. And the trade, we hope, will again prove to be mutually profitable.

"It is a great regret that China should remain suffering from the necessity of waging a war in suppression of an armed rebellion. Hope for peaceful settlement was shattered to pieces and we have been compelled to resort to arms. It follows that China's military machine must be trimmed all the more not only to cope with the situation but to effect its early and successful conclusion.

"Here two principles must be adhered to: the strict enforcement of discipline and the elevation of the morale of the soldiers on the one hand, and the adequate supply of material subsistence and modern equipment on the other. The rank and file should be well armed physically as well as spiritually.

"To ensure good discipline, a fair and just system of punishment and promotion has to be instituted under the supervision of good commanding officers. Meanwhile, no soldier can fight to the best of his ability if he is not convinced of the cause for which he may have to lay down his life. In addition he should have sufficient pay, enough food and adequate equipment. These are prerequisites to a good army.

Finally there is the necessity of enforcing Article 138 of the new Constitution which says 'The army, navy and air forces of the entire nation shall place themselves above all personal, regional or party affiliations, shall be loyal to the state and shall protect the people.'

HUANG CHUNG-TAO

Peiping,  
February 3, 1948.

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## Mistaken Identity

To The Editor:

In the January 17, 1948 issue of the *Review*, on page 199, a cartoon drawn by Mr. Teh Wei was reprinted from the *Hwa Sheng Pao*. Your explanation stated that the picture "depicts Santa Claus being pursued by a Japanese soldier who is demanding US dollars, munitions and MacArthur."

The Japs have now got their Mac, and should they not want any more Mac-Arthurs, they are still anxious for US dollars and munitions.

The bony guy with the knife in his hand, appearing in the picture, is Mr. Teh Wei's marvellous creation. It is a caricature representing the Kuomintang. This figure often appeared in "*The China Digest*" with a label "KMT" on its body. However, in this one the identity was left out.

INTERESTED.

January 28, 1948.

## Root Of All Evil

To The Editor:

The war with the Communists in China continues unchecked and moves toward its crescendo. Victory cannot be expected unless considerable reforms are put into effect on the part of the Nationalists.

Suppression of the Communists must not be regarded as solely a question of military force, but requires economic and administrative measures which will give the masses the means for a better livelihood.

Thinking in only military terms results in financial waste, detracts from the morale of the army and makes possible "corrupt practices" throughout many Chinese organizations.

The Civil War is the root of all evil, and it is this which prevents China from becoming a real power in the world. And our chance of progress has been brought to a halt with the possibility that China won't have another such chance for several decades.

Intelligent Chinese are more concerned with the underlying causes of this conflict rather than the conflict itself. They also are curious as to why there has not yet been any official peace treaty between Japan and the Allies.

Both the US and Great Britain are mistaken in believing that they can monopolize the Asiatic market by helping Japan attain self-sufficiency in consumer goods. This is simply because no real change has been made in the Japanese way of life. Hence, differences over a treaty may be boiled down to the US and Britain favoring one kind of a treaty while China and the USSR

stand firm in preserving their veto on the other side.

Another urgent need is for an independent Korea. Early in 1895, the voice of the Korean people rang out with Patrick Henry's immortal words, "give me liberty or give me death!" Today, she is the tragic example of the result of the clash between Communism and Democracy in a single country. Clashes along the 38th parallel register a growing increase. In our eyes, Korea is an independent body.

Just as in any part of the world, we endorse the placing of the task of preserving peace in Asia in the hands of the United Nations. This body should in turn make every available effort to handle the problem. No mere "gentleman's agreement" is sufficient. "Do things not only as you wish but as others wish," we cry.

JUNKER CHANG.

Nanking,

February 3, 1948.

## Spiritual Victory

To The Editor:

A dictator, whose face swollen from the blows of his enemy, will always declare the reason to be the fat and pink chubbiness of good health. The following will serve as an illustration of what I mean.

The other day, I met a friend of mine, Mr. Chang, a conscripted soldier who had been active in the Yen'an campaign last year. He returned to his native place a miserably disabled creature, having been wounded in the leg, which was subsequently amputated.

He divulged a most interesting and wonderful story which I have never heard before, nor have you, my dear readers, I think.

He said that on the eve of the arrival of the Chinese and foreign newspapermen at Yen'an, an empty citadel, which was captured by the Nationalist troops, the soldiers were ordered to build up as many graves as possible in and out of the captured city, together with monuments before each grave. These soldiers did not sleep a wink that night. The purpose of building up these tombs was to show the guests the enormous casualties of the Reds. In reality, all the graves were empty; not a single corpse could be found.

I think, Ah Q, the hero of the "Story of Ah Q," written by Lu Shun, the Chinese Gorky, would feel ashamed to death that his spiritual victory lagged far behind that of the American-equipped KMT forces of Chiang Kai-shek, the darling of Uncle Sam.

APOCALYPSE.

Shanghai,

February 6, 1948.

## No Exaggeration

To The Editor:

At present, the Chinese Communists are reported to be occupying more than 100 hsien of Honan Province. Only 10 cities or so remain under government control, and these are isolated from one another. The situation there is very grave. Civil servants are being dismissed in large numbers, for in many of the cities little business or administrative work can be carried on.

Being a native of Honan, I have had an opportunity to become familiar with the situation there, and wish to repeat to you the following stories which, I hope, may be of interest to you and your readers. Some of the incidents were witnessed by me, and some told to me; I shall retell them with no exaggeration.

The Communists, official propaganda to the contrary, are very fair and kind in their treatment of the peasants and people who are poverty-stricken. They are also good enough to the city residents and petit bourgeoisie. "Good" intellectuals, including teachers and students, are respected, while men affiliated with the local KMT or San Min Chu I Youth Corps are often treated cruelly. The captured hsien directors, if found corrupt, are sure to be executed. However, when many members of the Honan Provincial Bank fell into the hands of the Reds, I found, to my surprise, that they were treated very well indeed. One banker who worked for a time in a Red Bank office, refused to do so any longer and was escorted safely by Red soldiers to his native place.

Before the "liquidation" of a certain rich person takes place, the Reds inquire into his life history very carefully. They make a house to house canvass, asking such questions as: "How many mow of land has he?" "How rich is he?" "What sort of a guy is he?" "Are any of his family working for the government? If so, what jobs do they hold?"

If the person involved is a good fellow and usually treats his tenants well, he need not fear personal harm. He must expect, however to have half his possessions confiscated to be distributed to the poor.

The Communists never intrude into a house without a reason. They sometimes borrow utensils from the people, but return them in good condition before leaving for elsewhere. Robbery or rape cases are never heard of. When the Reds make some request from you, they explain to you, first, then consult with you, and then persuade you to agree. If you reject their request absolutely, they will not insist but apologize and go away.

The life of the Red soldiers is said to be very simple. The officers and soldiers are often seen sitting together on the ground in a circle, eating rough food.

As to the National troops, this is a story which can illustrate their behavior. It was told by the wife of one of my friends who just arrived here from Honan. She had never been educated. Therefore she understands nothing about "isms" and is not a Red. It is because of these facts that I believe her story is true. It runs as follows:

After the Communists left Loshan hsien, a city in south Honan, the Nationalist army moved in. The KMT officers as well as soldiers often wandered in the countryside with pistols hanging on their belts. In a village in the perimeter of Loshan, lived a couple in peace and mutual love. They were both primary school teachers. One day, a KMT officer stationed in the town intruded into their house when the husband was out. This officer must have been a sex-hungry fellow, for after a few



words with the wife, he began to lose his reason and act in a rough manner. As he was a Nationalist officer in the war zone who can freely impose the "red cap" upon anybody, the poor wife dared not do anything to enrage him. At the most awkward moment, the husband came back. One can imagine how he felt. He wanted to kick him out. But his wife stopped him and introduced the officer to him as a friend. She furthermore invited the officer to stay to have dinner with them. During the dinner, when the husband drank wine with him, the wife slipped out to report to the headquarters in the town. Then the MPs appeared on the spot and dragged the drunk officer away. This story spread all over the village and the people there felt so indignant that they made an unanimous appeal to the headquarters commander, who was a good man. It was said that the officer was finally shot. My informant had heard that the army stationed there is supposed to be the government's best-disciplined troops.

As can be easily judged, the situation in Honan will become more dangerous, if the Reds stay there longer. Who is going to win the people's heart? Let us make no guess but wait for the facts. One thing is certain, however, i.e., the KMT top officers in my province have never made up their minds to repel the Communists. Some of the KMT bosses have fled to Nanking and Shanghai;

some are preparing to make their flights. Recently, planes from Nanking to Chengchow have carried weapons and munitions; on their way back they take high ranking KMT people and their families. Several days ago, I saw the brother of a certain official in Honan who has fled here. In his native town, this guy is called "the third lord," because he is the third of seven brothers who are among the richest people in Honan. Why don't these men stay where they are and fight the Reds to the end?

Nanking,  
January 28, 1948.

C. T. T.

## Concentrated Wealth

To The Editor:

One of my colleagues has been charged with being a criminal since his father died last year. His house has been confiscated by the Government because he could not afford to pay the inherited property tax. He is neither a Communist nor was he a traitor during the anti-Japanese war.

His father left him a few acres of land, the major part of which is in the Communist-controlled area. Even with this inherited property, he had still to work hard and try every means to keep his family from starvation. What he

worried about most was the education of his children in the future.

In China, the family system still exists. Because of the scanty salary the average Chinese civil servant receives, one can hardly maintain one's living without the help of one's father who, on his part, had to rely on his father's property. Usually the inherited property is very small but the inherited property tax is very high. Therefore, the Government, before enforcing the inherited property tax, should figure out how many people are able to pay and find out whether each individual is able to maintain his living independently without the support of his father's property.

Since the war of resistance, China's wealth has been concentrated in the hands of the few. According to the *Ta Kung Pao's* recent estimate, there is more than US\$400,000,000 deposited in American banks. The Government knows only how to oppress and squeeze the poor people, but does nothing about the Zaibatsu.

After years of war, the Chinese people are suffering in distress and poverty. The Government should realize that it is not the proper time at present to impose such a heavy tax on the people, and should let them have a breath to recover from their poverty.

SUN TZE-HSU.

Nantung, Kiangsu,  
February 2, 1948.

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## The Ordinary People

To The Editor:

General Fu, the brilliant general of the National Army, upon being appointed to the new post of Commander-in-Chief of the North China Bandit-Suppression Campaign last December 27, stated that he could not create any miracles. But he has already done so. During a fortnight's fighting he lost two of his most famous generals, Lt. General Lu Yin-ning, Commanding Officer of the 35th Army and Major General Lee Min-ding, a division commander. Lee was killed in action and Lu committed suicide some days later (January 14) because of the staggering losses in men and supplies.

What does this mean? It gives us a vivid picture of the fact that the people's strength was, is, and will be, stronger and stronger, and at the same time serves as a warning to the nation's reactionaries.

Recently, I came across the following lines of a conversation between Gunther Stein, author of "The Challenge of Red China," and a wealthy landlord, Mr. Yen Li-hsuan, which took place four years ago:

"And what would the people's attitude be toward an attempt of the Kuomintang regime to return to North China when the Japanese are driven out?"

"Yen's face became very grave. He thought for a long while and replied slowly, as though it caused him pain—carefully choosing every word and stopping for a while between sentences. 'I hope very much that the two parties will find a way to cooperate, to solve the problem by political means...The common people cannot stand any more fighting.....You don't know what they have gone through in peace and in war...From everything I know I am

certain that the great majority of the people in the war areas are convinced that the Eighth Route Army and the Communist party are really fighting for them...'

"There was a long pause before he continued.

"And in case of conflict with the Kuomintang, I do not hesitate to say that the Eighth Route Army and the Communist party would have the people's confidence...The people would support them...Most of the landlords and merchants, too, like the ordinary people... It would be a terrible struggle..." (The Challenge of Red China, pages 391-392).

S. S. L.

Peiping,

January 30, 1948.

## Pack Of Foxes

Dear Editor:

Mr. Ever High Yang of Hangchow has written you a number of letters which we feel were not only expressed in the choicest language but were also logical, patriotic and significant. He is a really good Chinese intellectual who is greatly interested in the welfare of the common people. We wonder what has become of him, whether he has left his native place, is busy, or is sick. We can't believe that he has been taken away secretly by the blueshirts.

Although our KMT disapproves of many Chinese people at present, we don't feel that it is as wicked as many believe. A few weeks ago, in the defense conference at Nanking, our president stressed the importance of improving politics in the interest and support of the people, with 30 percent emphasis on things military and 70 percent on things political in the matter of fighting the Reds. General Chang Fa-kwei

advocated, at the same time, that a policy of 10 percent military and 90 percent political be followed in the same connection. From this, we feel that the old and experienced leaders of China are not entirely wrong.

Actually, it is the young partisans of the KMT who are the underhandedly wicked ones. They are just like a pack of foxes, for, though they are sly they are not far-sighted. They are using all sorts of foul means in their present struggle for power in the elections in Hupeh, Fukien, Szechuen and other provinces.

I used to teach in Sinkiang, which is the native city of Principal Tsai Chin-po who was murdered a few days ago in his office at the Wen Tsai middle school. I know that he was murdered because he opposed the election of a certain rich and powerful rascal who spent much money and used every possible unfair means in bribing the voters.

This incident is one of many which are proof of what our classics say, "As the otter aids the deep waters by driving the fish into them, as the hawk aids the thickets by driving the birds into them, so do the foolish and stupid partisans aid the 'bandits' by driving the people to them." I do pity these young, fatuous partisans, as they are aware only of the wealth and power which can be used to threaten, deceive and oppress the people. They don't seem to realize that when the CP troops have crossed the Yangtze River they may one day weep and cry saying, "Our villas (wealth) have proved our ruin", or "We are called the lords of the earth, but we are without a clod to call our own."

When Jesus was preaching and driving out devils, the Jewish scribes said, "By the prince of the devils casteth he out devils." That may not have been true in Jesus' case, but our present KMT Government has certainly become a

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"devil" in the process of trying to cast out the communist "devils". Since I am a faithful friend of the KMT, I wish it would choose really able men to be its provincial governors, men like Lo Pin-chang for instance. If the KMT does not know of this Mr. Lo, let one of its members ask Wu Chih-huei who can tell him quite plainly.

Mr. J. B. of Nanking, who expressed so much concern for Mr. Ever High Yang in the Dec. 27 issue of *The Review*, may be interested in hearing of the recent disappearance of two Chungking girl students suspected of having communist connections. It is distressing to hear of these and similar things happening so often in China today. How are we ever to live again in peace? Certainly not until the KMT reorganizes drastically and selects good and honest members to serve itself and China too.

WANG TIEN-PEI

Chungking, Szechuen,  
February 2, 1948.

## No Absolute Truth

Dear Editor:

I have a few words to say in response to the editorial published in your January 10 issue, on "American Imperialism?"

Since there is no absolute truth in the world, it is very difficult to settle an argument in terms of black and white. Just as the Chinese proverb says, "Both husband and wife have their respective reasons." If we, however, concede that a theory advocated by a majority of the people or a prevailing principle represents truth, then it becomes easier to make clear a given subject.

According to the principle of materialism, which is so predominant in the field

of philosophy today, imperialism is the highest and final stage of capitalism. This serves as an almost biblical truth to the oppressed, and has directed revolutionary actions throughout the world. One of the features of imperialism is its eagerness to obtain colonies and markets outside its own boundaries, and, to achieve this objective, the imperialist nation usually must resort to war. Why did Japan invade China? Simply because she wished to dominate, and exclude all western powers from the Far East. No matter what her excuses, her aggressive war was clearly imperialistic.

On the other hand, the well-fed imperialistic nation (which Japan was not), that is already in a leading position, longs for a peaceful world in which she can quietly engage in free trade with, and obtain raw materials from, other nations. She must be able to do this in order to keep her capitalist form of government. We can easily recall Britain's policy toward Germany before she plunged into the European conflict in 1939. Had not Hitler marched roughshod through France and challenged Britain's position in Europe, she might have been content to live and let live in regard to her Teutonic neighbor.

If there are any imperialist nations which have survived the war, let us see what policies they adopt in their domestic affairs as well as toward the colonized nations. Since the gap existing between capitalists and the proletariat naturally enlarges with capitalistic development, class struggle must finally undermine capitalism itself. In order to bridge that gap, a number of social changes must be made. These, however, should not be considered as acts of charity on the part of the capitalists, nor as means of mitigating class differences.

At the conclusion of the war, famine and starvation brought on rebellions in

various colonized nations endangering, of course, the interests of the imperialist nations. In order to maintain their position and protect their interests, the latter were forced to line up with the reactionary cliques existing in their colonies and to support them with loans, sales of surplus materials, the supplying of technicians and military commissions, etc., in spite of the fact that these measures serve to prolong the strife. With reference to the characteristics of imperialism there are, of course, many other things which should be mentioned. The above, however, can give a clue to its workings.

There is one imperialist nation which stands foremost among the rest. I refer to America, of course. As for her, the Chinese people will never forget the friendship she has shown to them. Had not America participated in the war and greatly helped China during that period, the situation here might be very different at present. And in the relief and rehabilitation of post-war China, America has also done an excellent job. The relief materials, which came mainly from the pockets of the American people, have, despite the corruption and inefficiency of Chinese government officials, kept a great many of our people alive who would otherwise have starved or frozen to death. For all this, we are grateful.

America played her historical role very well during the war years, and has, in some degree, assumed leadership of the world. It is too early, though, to tell what she will accomplish for the world. As thought always comes after fact, what will happen can only be surmised.

CHIN JOR-SHUI.

Shanghai,  
February 6, 1948.

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# THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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## "Look At The Record . . ."

US CONSUL-GENERAL John M. Cabot, speaking before the Shanghai Rotary Club last week pointed out what he called several misconceptions regarding US policy in Asia. Mr. Cabot listed various conceptions which he said were prevalent and then introduced what he called facts to disprove each of these conceptions or misconceptions. Repeatedly telling his audience to "Look at the record," Mr. Cabot specifically denied: (1) That the US was building up Japan and neglecting China; (2) That the US is giving help to others to maintain its own prosperity; (3) That American policy is inspired by militaristic or imperialistic motives; and (4) That America can be criticized for signing the Yalta Pact with Russia.

A careful reading of Mr. Cabot's speech discloses an appalling lack of "facts" and a total absence of anything like a complete "record." According to those who listened to the speech it sounded fine, what with repeated references to "facts" and the "record," but for all practical purposes the speech says virtually nothing. If it were not for the reason that the speech itself creates a few "misconceptions" about US policy, we would not mention it, letting it pass as an able example of a successful after luncheon talk which pleases the listeners but which doesn't say enough to get the speaker in hot water.

SPECIFICALLY, Mr. Cabot got way off base on his first point: THAT AMERICA IS FALSELY CRITICIZED BY THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT THE UNITED STATES IS BUILDING UP JAPAN AND NEGLECTING CHINA. While the phraseology of his remarks was somewhat vague, we take it that he meant to deny charges that the US was busy resurrecting Japan as the leading nation of Asia. This point was slightly confused by the addition of the statement "neglecting China," which enabled Mr. Cabot to cite the amount of US aid to this country since V-J Day and to state that such aid is continuing. However, no amount of recapitulation of US aid to China—which admitt-

edly has been great—can obscure the fact that General MacArthur, apparently with the approval of the American Government is busy planning for the resurgence of Japan as the leading power in the Far East.

Mr. Cabot said: "Look then at the record in Japan. We have stripped Japan of its fleet, disbanded its army, dismantled its war industries and its military bases, and taken over the far-flung net of Islands treacherously used for the attack on Pearl Harbor. We hope that the Japanese people will join the peace-minded nations of the world in working for peace and bettering conditions of life throughout the world, but we are not so foolish as to hand back at this early date the weapons which we have stricken from Japanese hands in long and costly years of war. We have the responsibility in Japan which goes with authority, but shockingly as the Japanese behaved in China, the Chinese people would not want us to let them starve. In the light of what we have done, how can it appear that in permitting the Japanese to live we are building them up as a bulwark against anyone, let alone as a potential military threat to China."

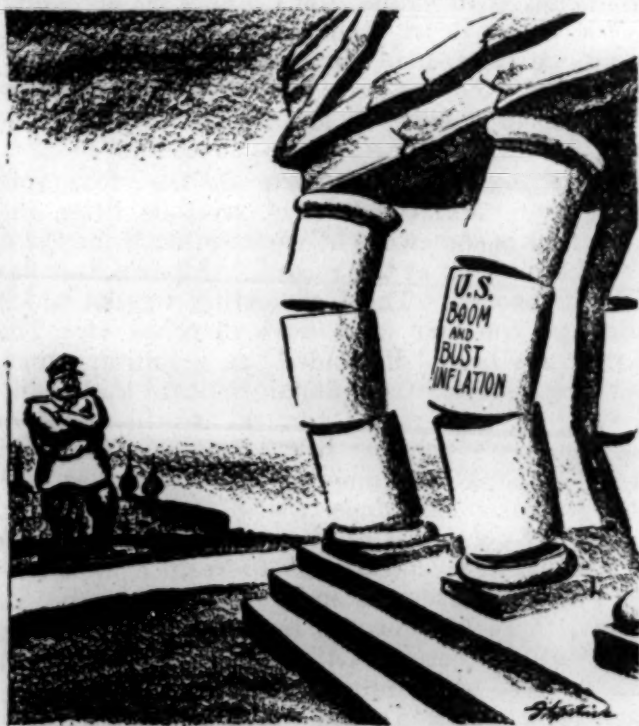
Cutting out the rhetoric in the foregoing paragraph, Mr. Cabot says precious little and even that is somewhat at variance with the facts.

Let us look at the record. Japan's fleet has been disbanded. The few floating wrecks which survived the war have been disposed of. The Army has been "disbanded" as a military unit, but press stories from Japan indicate that many a "retired" general or admiral is still active in the country's political life. Evidence has been found by SCAP of numerous secret societies, like the formerly notorious Black Dragon Society, which are composed of former military men and whose avowed objective is to restore Japan to its former position of empire and eminence. In Tokyo there are current investigations into the activities of these societies, the extent of which has not yet been fully revealed. Some war industries have been dismantled, but again press reports from Japan paint a discouraging picture as far as the dismantling of heavy steel, electrical and chemical plants owned by the Zaibatsu are concerned. Are not these, too, war industries, Mr. Cabot? Some military bases have been dismantled or even destroyed. However, is it not a fact that occupation of some is all that has been changed? A flight over the islands so "treacherously used for the attack on Pearl Harbor," will reveal that repair and extension work has been carried out or is in progress on some of the old Japanese airfields. If Japan is to be grounded and not allowed any civil or military aviation, what is the purpose of improving airfields? Why not plow them all up for rice paddies? This would seem especially sensible if we are not to allow the poor Japs to starve, despite their "shocking behavior in China" during the war.

MORE than a year ago we began to notice that the character of the Japanese occupation was slowly changing from one based on sound

principles of justly chastizing a vanquished enemy, giving him a chance to understand and perhaps embrace democracy and, what's more important, seeing to it that it would be physically impossible for him again to menace the peace of the world. As long as 18 months ago it became apparent that the occupation authorities had other things in mind. The preservation of "law and order" became a prime object, and the method to achieve this seemed to be to emphasize the country's old institutions, including the Emperor and the entire feudal set-up of absolute authority. The mere retention of the emperor system is in direct contradiction to our pious announcements of hoping that the Japs will embrace democracy.

For the past few months we have been keeping a record of how the United States has been



WAITING TO PICK UP THE PIECES

democratizing Japan and how it has been pulling the Jap dragon's teeth. Let us look at our record, a record compiled carefully from items published in the press, both in China and the United States, as well as in Japan.

Last October the Far Eastern Commission presented the "Japanese economy" with a US\$500,000,000 blueprint for recovery. It was to be backed by US\$137,000,000 worth of gold, silver and precious jewels made available to the Japanese Government from frozen assets in Japan. At that time the magazine *Current Economy of Japan* said: "It is thus clear that the fund is intended primarily to accelerate the industrial recovery of Japan, and the Japanese must not jump to a hasty conclusion that the establishment of the fund may produce the immediate salutary effect of enriching their economic life."

On November 1, 1947, we editorialized: "Long after General MacArthur had announced half a dozen times that the Zaibatsu were smash-

ed, we read a report from Tokyo on September 12 (1947), carried by *Central News Agency*. The report said that the Katayama Cabinet has decided to submit to the Diet the economic decentralization bill, reportedly handed down by SCAP headquarters. 'The bill was designed to break up the Zaibatsu interests and forestall any future monopolistic control in Japanese economy. However, most financial and economic circles regarded the bill as a disintegration of Japanese economy.'

"Now, unless it is true that the Zaibatsu have been abolished as General MacArthur has so often declared, *Central News* should exercise extreme care in spreading such reports, for they give the impression that the Zaibatsu is about to be broken up."

These paragraphs were published last November and it is our understanding that SCAP is still about to break up the Zaibatsu.

In the same issue of the *Review* we noted a *United Press* dispatch from Tokyo which reported: "Hanichi Yada and Minoru Tsutsumi of the Shibaura Turbine Manufacturing Company will leave for China at the earliest possible opportunity as the first Japanese engineers to visit China since the end of the war." We pointed out then that it was not such a long time ago that the Shibaura concern was manipulating the local Andersen, Meyer plants in Shanghai.

Mr. Cabot says the United States "hopes that the Japanese people will join the peace-minded nations of the world in working for peace and bettering conditions of life throughout the world." General MacArthur has put it even stronger. He has announced their conversion to both democracy and Christianity. The General, it seems, feels that the Japs can become good democrats even if forbidden to read the word "democracy," which on occasion has been removed from Japanese newspapers by SCAP's press censorship section, which, we suppose, is another organ of democracy.

On December 6 last year, we wrote: "It may seem incredible but nevertheless it is true that nowadays the very word 'democracy' is taboo in Japan under MacArthur's control. According to the magazine *Frontpage* . . . a message from Philip Murray of the CIO to the Japanese workers was delayed for several days. It was not printed until it had been heavily edited by MacArthur's headquarters, which removed all references to the word 'democracy.' . . . A documentary film 'Tragedy of Japan,' which pictured the Emperor's role in the war, was banned after pressure from the Japanese prime minister. . . . Under the pretense of military security, stories that attack the Emperor or are favorable to labor are deleted or watered down by the GHQ Censorship Division."

On the economic side, we said on January 3, 1948, "... Japanese textile goods are slowly but surely penetrating the Indian and Egyptian markets. India has bought 3,000 bales of Japanese raw silk and 2,800,000 pounds of rayon yarn. It is reported that up until the beginning of November, Japan's postwar exports to India con-



sisted entirely of cotton textiles. More than 23,000,000 linear yards of Japanese cotton fabrics were shipped to India during October. Altogether approximately 80,000,000 yards is expected to be shipped to India.

"In payment for Egyptian cotton, Japanese textile goods have been shipped to Egypt and more are on the way.

"In Siam, the Ministry of Commerce of the Siamese Government in November (1947) turned over its second shipment of postwar Japanese textiles to the Bangkok Chamber of Commerce for distribution to retailers, fixing the price for cloth 25 percent lower than the first shipment. As a result, fancy materials from Shanghai which had remained pretty firm, suddenly fell from 15 to 45 bahts per meter."

It seems obvious to us just who is going to suffer from SCAP's pushing of the Japanese textile trade.

In the same issue, we reported: "The worst part of it is that General MacArthur is spoiling the Japanese. In his report on economic and political conditions in the Far East at the *Times* annual luncheon for automotive industrial executives in Detroit, Mr. Foster Hailey, *New York Times* editorial writer, bluntly charged that Japan is being rebuilt as the Far Eastern economic leader because the US occupation forces, by imposing American industrial technique on Japanese industry, have made it more efficient than it was before the Pacific War."

We also recorded that press stories from Japan reported that the US Government had asked the Far East Commission to "postpone action on the breaking up of Zaibatsu economic concentrations in Japan on the ground of insuring a smooth and uninterrupted operation of Japan's industry and preventing Japan's economy from being plunged into utter confusion and dislocation. It was at this time that the *London Times* commented: "...relaxation of the present attitude of the Allied Command toward the Zaibatsu would profoundly affect Japanese domestic politics....Most of the great industrial families have been driven out of business. Their political and economic influence has not yet been broken but it must work underground through puppets...If the Zaibatsu were granted any amnesty in whatever form, forces of the old Japan would be immensely strengthened." The *New York Herald Tribune* at that time editorialized that reactionary officials of the Japanese Government were known to believe that no political reform could be successful if it were not accompanied by similar economic reform.

As recently as January 24 we reported: "Coal shortages have greatly handicapped Japan's industrial production. Thanks to the good offices of SCAP, a contract has been concluded with Canadian collieries for the shipment of 10,000 tons of coking coal to Japan. All of this imported coal, it is announced, will be used to manufacture steel for such products as textile and mining machinery." During the same week *UP* reported from Los Angeles that Pres-

ident Herman Yaros of the Yaros Company recently announced the signing of one of the first reciprocal coal-steel trade contracts between postwar Japan and the United States.

In summarizing the situation we said: "It is an open secret that leaders of the Japanese Government are counting heavily on substantial economic aid from the United States this year. Finance Minister Takeo Kurusu in a speech delivered at the Fukushima chapter of the Democratic Party openly stated that Japan would receive a loan of US\$700,000,000 from the United States during this fiscal year because 'American sentiment toward Japan seems to have improved lately' and 'recognition of Japan's efforts to stand on her economy is a big factor in making Americans willing to invest.'

"Kumakichi Nakajima, president of the Japan Foreign Trade Association, is reported to be about to submit a proposal to General MacArthur that the United States lend Japan US\$2,000,000,000 as a currency stabilization fund. In an exclusive interview with *Central News*, Nakajima stated that his plan calls for the issuance of new Japanese dollars on a par with the United States dollar and the coordination of the Japanese economic system with the American economic system. Nakajima went so far as to state that, if necessary, Japan's economic system may be incorporated into that of the United States."

THE "record" we have just quoted from—our record, collected on a day to day basis from the press—seems to be of a somewhat different nature than Mr. Cabot's record. The most charitable thing we can say about Mr. Cabot's views of what America is doing in Japan is that our new Consul-General is not too well informed.

### "Shoot To Kill"

AS THE result of the recent outbreak of a series of student riots and labor disturbances, Mayor K. C. Wu and Garrison Commander Hsuan Ti-wu served a stern warning that local law enforcement officers have been given standing orders to "shoot to kill" in the event of any similar incident. Mr. Pan Kung-chan, Chairman of the Shanghai City Council, hastened to support this drastic but highly regrettable decision and went a step further, demanding immediate enforcement of curfew as a "safeguard to peace and order."

Voicing their full approval, a section of the Chinese press raised a vociferous hue and cry against the Communists and beat the tom-tom on an alleged Red plot, suggesting that stern and prompt action be taken to "make a clean sweep" of professional trouble-makers and crypto-Communists.

Government leaders blamed the recent troubles all on the Communists and Communist agents. Mayor Wu charged that the Communists had organized a nation-wide Disturbance-creating Committee headed by Chou En-lai, and that a special unit in the Yangtze Valley had made Shanghai the target for its agitation.

Failing to achieve their purpose in the student riots, the Communists instigated labor disturbances, the Mayor stated.

Garrison Commander Hsuan said that too many Communist agents were bent on causing disturbances and violence in Shanghai.

In his report on the rioting at the Sung Sing No. 9 Cotton Mill, Social Affairs Commissioner Wu Kai-hsien attributed the violence by the mill girls to a "well-laid-out, long-planned Communist attempt to cause bloodshed."

**M**UCH as we deplore the prevalence of violence and lawlessness in this city, we cannot, however, subscribe to the view that shooting to kill is the only solution. Students of political science understand perfectly well that the use of force has never offered any fundamental solution for deep-rooted social or political problems. As the situation stands today in this country, the use of brute force only serves to widen the gap



AMONG THOSE PRESENT WERE—

between the National Government and the Chinese people and will have the disastrous effect of making the people more bitter, more resentful. This is all the more unfortunate now that Nanking is stressing the pressing need for winning the sympathy and the support of the people in its life-and-death struggle with the Chinese Communists.

As far as we can see, it is utterly impossible to mobilize the overwhelming majority of the people for active participation in the bandit-suppression campaign by shooting to kill. Certainly, that isn't the proper thing to do. It will spoil the whole show.

It may be possible to cow people into abject submission by the cracking of the whip. But only

political toleration and magnanimity will succeed in commanding the respect and sympathy of their people and enlisting their whole-hearted backing and cooperation.

**F**ROM the political point of view, the issuing of the "shoot to kill" order was not an act of courage or wisdom. On the contrary, it betrayed a sense of despair and desperation. It indicated that the authorities had no alternative but to resort to brute force to keep the situation under control. This certainly reflected no credit on the Government now that China's new Constitution is said to be in force.

History teaches that violence breeds violence and that force is most likely to be matched by force. If shooting to kill and summary executions could do the job, the rotten, corrupt Manchu regime would have existed down to the present day and Dr. Sun Yat-sen would have been unable to found the Chinese Republic.

Recent reports from Nanking stated that the National Government decided to adopt a "velvet glove" policy in handling the cabaret girls "in the interest of social stability." It is further disclosed that some members of the Central Standing Committee of the Kuomintang were opposed to the use of the Big Stick, pointing out that "any attempt to use roughshod methods against rioters would result in the spreading of outbreaks of violence." This is good news. It is really encouraging to find that some leaders in Nanking still keep cool heads and display badly needed statesmanship.

**T**HE charges that Communist agents were at the bottom of the recent troubles are not fully convincing. It might be possible that there was some Communist agitation among the politically-minded students and a small section of the class-conscious factory workers. However, it seems to us a little far-fetched to give the Communists credit for mobilizing thousands of pampered cabaret girls who do not give a darn about politics and whose only ambition is making money and leading a comfortable life.

Some time ago on this page we had occasion to call attention to the dangerous game of Red-baiting. As far as we have been able to judge, the policy of holding the Chinese Communists responsible for any and every popular agitation to protest against injustice and for any and every mass movement to fight for a better life has done more harm than good. The Red-baiters, it would appear, fail to realize that in so doing they are serving as volunteer propagandists for the Chinese Communists. To do so is to leave the public under the impression that the Communists are really champions for the interests and welfare of the down-trodden people, while the Government is against them.

Of course, the Communists are only too glad of any opportunity to stir up trouble to embarrass the Government. However, it would be politically dangerous to attribute every movement against the status quo to the Communists. For



one thing, we still doubt if the Communists have been powerful and popular enough to do so. If the Government with all its political and military powers has failed to prevent social disturbances, it is beyond our comprehension how the Chinese Communists, now outlawed with prices on their heads, should have succeeded in creating so many troubles.

It is common knowledge that many of the social disturbances that have taken place in this city during the past several months were of an economic character. They were devoid of political significance. When thousands of cabaret girls and cotton mill girls dare to storm government buildings and engage in free-for-alls with armed police and troops, they must have something to fight for. Unless they were fully convinced that their vital personal interest was at stake, no volume of Communist propaganda or agitation could make them run the risk of battling with police.

The banning of commercial dancing and the impending closing down of cabarets and dance halls will mean unemployment and possible starvation for thousands of the cabaret girls. And this was one reason why they became so militant, so rebellious. They are fighting for their very existence. After all, the will to live is only human nature.

The demands presented by the girls of the Sung Sing Cotton Mill were all of an economic character. They demanded *inter alia* (1) a Lunar New Year loan of two-months' wages to each worker, (2) full payment of wages to women workers during pregnancy and after childbirth, (3) equal distribution of rationed rice and other daily necessities to workers without residential certificates and (4) re-instatement of dismissed workers.

To read unwarranted political significance into purely economic matters is politically stupid and ill-advised. The reasons are obvious. The shifting of attention from the economic to the political field would make the Government a target for public attack.

The wisdom of the government action in banning commercial dancing for austerity reasons is open to doubt. We fail to see how the closing down of the cabarets and dance halls will improve the Government finance. Instead, hundreds of thousands of people will be thrown into the streets, thus adding to social discontent and unrest.

It seems to us the Government authorities have paid too much attention to trivial matters and too little attention to important issues. This penny-wise-pound-foolish policy has involved a deplorable waste of time and energy, which should have been spent for more constructive and profitable purposes.

Social stability and popular support are sorely needed. Will it be possible to bring about social stability and enlist the backing of the people by forcing more people to become jobless and penniless, or by shooting to kill? We doubt it.

## 25 Years Ago In The Weekly Review Of The Far East

### Personal Loyalties

February 10, 1923.

THE idea of constitutional law, that is, of an abstract definite fundamental rule to which all political actions must conform, is not foreign to Chinese philosophy. But the fundamental principle which the great teachers emphasize is *Li*, the right or equitable way, rather than a fixed body of written rules of law. When these ideas were formed in China the country was living under a monarchical and patriarchal system. All ideas of what is lawful and right were in a sense personified and attached to definite social relations, particularly the five classic relations of Confucius.... The introduction of the idea of the sovereignty of law in China would, therefore, serve to introduce an element, which might take the place of the old personal loyalties, as far as government is concerned. (Dr. Paul S. Reinsch).

\* \* \*

### No Permanent Constitution

WITH the Chinese Republic about to enter upon its eleventh year and still no permanent constitution formed, with chaos existing on all four sides of the Central Government within China's own borders, the Russian situation unsettled on her extreme North, and the usual differences existing between herself and her neighbor, Japan, it seems with the manifold problems confronting her, the solution, if any, is far distant. The Chang Shao-tseng Cabinet in Peking is still without a Minister of Foreign Affairs, several having been named but none appointed. Canton is still in the throes of a great war between her military leaders in the southern province. Manchuria—the great stamping ground—is still the center of interest for Chinese, Japanese and Russians.

## 10 Years Ago In The China Weekly Review

### US Infantry Withdrawn

February 12, 1948.

BY withdrawing the Fifteenth US Infantry Regiment, stationed in Tientsin almost continuously for 38 years, the United States Government has finally liquidated its participation in the enforcement of the terms of the Boxer Protocol signed by the Powers in 1900. The agitation for the withdrawal of the American Regiment began shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Capital at Nanking 11 years ago, but while the US recognized Nanking and ultimately established its Embassy there, it still maintained a staff in Peiping. Another element was the constant demand of American citizens in North China that the regiment be retained there for protective purposes. In actual practice, however, the regiment was of little value as a protective force for local citizens as its duties as specified in the Protocol were to cooperate with the other Powers in keeping the railway open between the Capital and the sea.

\* \* \*

### "Proper" Puppet

IN the midst of innumerable and seemingly insurmountable difficulties confronting the Chinese Government, the Japanese continued pushing their plans for the creation of another puppet regime in Central China, to be headquartered at Shanghai. Chief obstacle confronting the Japanese was said to involve the choice of a "proper" puppet.... (one) name mentioned was that of Wang Ching-wei, who, according to a report in the *Hwa Mei Wan Pao*, had been approached by the Japanese to form their Central China regime. But it was stated that Mr. Wang also had turned down the Japanese proposal, declaring that he would not under any circumstances agree to become a puppet of the Japanese Army.

# What The Press Didn't Say About Tung Chi

Li Po-ti

THE latest student "outbreak," according to the local press, was the result of the student body of Tung Chi University attempting to send a group of representatives to Nanking in protest over the suspension of 11 students. In the process of trying to talk them out of making this mission, Mayor K. C. Wu was attacked and beaten by several of the students. However, in spite of great coverage, the papers did not go into the background of the incident very thoroughly and entirely omitted many of the actual facts.

While a newspaper's function is not to give a historical account of an event of this nature it still has the duty of covering all the facts and, in a case such as this, also to give some background material as to why the students feel as they do. Of course, it is a simple matter to say or hint that the whole thing is a "Red plot" but somehow such a solution is all too pat.

The Government, which has been most susceptible to student criticism, has attempted to suppress the student movement in two ways. One has been through the expulsion of students from universities and physical violence such as was witnessed last May. The other, which is even more effective, has been through the control of needy students.

To trace back to the immediate cause of the projected student protest to the capital, one must return to the original student suspensions. According to the December law passed by the Government, there can be no such thing as the Tung Chi "Student Autonomous Body,"

which consisted of members elected by the students to represent them. Under the new regulations, candidates for the "Student Autonomous Body" are not allowed to be elected by the students. Since the University President and Dean of Discipline in all National Universities are KMT people, it is not at all improbable that those appointed would be trusted members of this group.

The students were averse to seeing this put into practice for it would mean an end to their self-elected body. Along with this, two of the students, one of whom led the Winter Relief Drive, were dismissed for being members of that body. The given excuse for this was that these two leaders disobeyed school regulations. When another five, who had been chosen to represent the students, protested against this, they in turn were suspended. As a result, a student strike was called and this time four more were suspended. In addition, a warning was issued to almost 40 students that they would be likewise punished unless they refrained from protesting the suspension of the 11.

On the morning of January 29, when it was already known that the students were sending a delegation to the nation's capital, police and army men appeared at Tung Chi as early as 5:00 o'clock in the morning. By 10:00 a.m., as the students started to leave the campus en masse, there were approximately 1,500 police and soldiers and 2,000 students.

As the students got outside they were quickly confronted by three groups. The first consisted of police with drawn guns and bayonets, the second was mounted cavalry and the third was made up of soldiers with light machine guns and some armored cars.

By 10:45 the Mayor arrived and was greeted with cries from the students that under Article Eight of the newly inaugurated Constitution they had the right to petition the Government against the December law outlawing self-governing student bodies.

The Mayor suggested that they agree to some kind of mediation. His proposal was that a five-member group be formed, to be made up of two members of the student body (a professor and an alumnae member), two representatives of the school administration (President Ting Wen-yuan and one other person) with himself as the mediator.

The students were willing to do this, but because Ting Wen-yuan was not present proceedings were delayed pending his arrival.

Strangely enough, while everyone knew about the proposed trip to Nanking, President Ting was not to be found. The mayor assured the students that he would eventually come and had phone calls made to determine his whereabouts. Hours passed and still Ting could not be located.

(The matter of the President of the University being unavailable when most people knew about the impending trip to Nanking has been interpreted as at least a shirking of responsibility on the part of the Tung Chi head. Others feel that perhaps he was aware of what was going to happen and if he were not there he could not be called to account for any bloodshed taking place.)

## Drawn Sabres

By 4:00 p.m. the students were becoming impatient and some of them began to try to seep through the first cordon of police in front of them. The mayor, at this time, was just in front of these police. As the students began to move, the second line of "authoritative" defense swung into action. The cavalry charged with drawn sabres.

It was at this juncture (as the students began to bypass the police, who failed to use their arms) that the "attack on the mayor" was made.

The general turmoil which ensued as a result of the sword-swinging cavalry charge succeeded in scattering the frantic students and in the general melee the mayor was engulfed and knocked down along with some of the students. It is at this point that the mayor claims to have been beaten by four or five students.

What was not reported was that the cavalry, in riding the students down, managed to cut some of them across the face, mouth and behind the neck. One girl, Ni Wei-tzi, of St. John's, was cut in the head. Two boys, Mo Han-hsiang, of Chiao Tung, was cut across the mouth and Wu Chieh of Tung Chi was cut across the left cheek. Others were kicked by the horses.

The students retreated to the assembly hall and there refused to come out to be identified by their cards. When the gendarmes and soldiers came in, the students joined each other by holding hands. To break this up, clubs were used to hit the outstretched arms and thus separate the individuals. By this method, people were dragged out and separated into groups according to the school they came from.

As in any event of this nature, all the facts are not obtainable, but the end product was the destruction of what the students considered

NANTAO BY NIGHT



From Chien Yien Pao



their Constitutional right of petition. More than 50 of the students were injured and a good number were taken to the Sino-American hospital for treatment. The number arrested consisted of more than 100.

After holding those arrested for one week, the authorities finally released the names of 41 students who will face either military or civil trials. In the interim, between the arrests on January 29 and the release of these 41 names, the rest of the students arrested supposedly were released.

Reports also deal with the fact that some of the detained students had their clothes taken from them, and were put into a cement-floored cell. One of these students has reportedly died in prison. As to the number of students who were taken to the Sino-American hospital, again information is not too direct for there is a certain amount of hesitancy on the part of would-be visitors. However, there is no doubt that many of those brought in were badly cut up from the cavalry onslaught.

The mayor, not too visibly injured after the whole affair, was said to have been directly responsible for preventing a widespread bloody incident. It is reported that prior to the cavalry charge he was asked to leave by the police and army so that the matter could be handled in their own way. What the result of this might have been, in view of the results of the "middle way" which took place, is not too difficult to imagine.

**A**TTEMPTS at student suppression such as witnessed at Tung Chi does afford some opportunity for the public to view what is happening. Of course, even this picture is thrown out of focus by the local purveyors of information. However, the Government has been carrying out a campaign destined to throttle the student movement through means much more subtle than mere use of force. The axe with which they have tried to hack the student movement to pieces is The Unified Distribution of Scholarships Committee.

In January, 1945, when the Japanese still occupied Shanghai, the students to a great extent could not afford the tuition rates. This led to the beginning of the Student Aid Campaigns to gather funds from local citizens to support the needy students. Thus, since January, 1945, Shanghai has witnessed the semi-annual student drives for funds in January and August, before the commencement of each new term.

As a result of these drives the students became more unified and a fairly strong, well-knit organization has come into being. With the growing unity on the part of the student body, the Government has become more and more opposed and it now looks on the aid campaigns with great disfavor.

Last summer, in an attempt to break up the student aid campaign



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and hamper the student movement, the Government outlawed the Shanghai Student Association. This group had been the backbone of previous fund drives and was thus chosen for the dubious honor of being outlawed.

By August of last year some KMT leaders in Shanghai, including Pan Kung-chen, Hsu Chi-ching, Tu Yueh-sen and Li Hsi-mo, founded an official body for doling out scholarships to "worthy" students. This group had no funds of its own to give out and in order to obtain money was forced to call upon prominent citizens for support.

At the time of its inception it aimed at a sum of CNC\$5,000,000,000. It received CNC\$3,000,000,000, half of which was pledged by the City Government. Others who pledged funds were the Central Bank, the *Sin Wan Pao*, the *Ta Kung Pao* and various other enterprises. On the whole, it can be said that the majority of the money was Government-donated.

Of a total of 12,000 students who needed help by last August, the funds gathered by the Unified Distribution of Scholarships Committee was sufficient for about 3,000. But even this help was made in a manner which was not quite regular. Instead of giving the tuition money at the beginning of the term the fee was to be paid at the end of the term. This has led to the suspicion that perhaps, even those considered suitable by the Committee had to mind their actions throughout the term.

It has also been noted that the majority of the 3,000 have been pro-Government students and most student leaders were off the list. In addition, it is known that some of the people who were given scholarships have far lower grades than others who were left off the list. Supposedly the scholarships are given on the grounds of need plus scholastic record.

This policy which has been in effect since last August, is not something new. These very same methods were used in the interior during the war. The overall effect is to use the granting of scholarships as a lever to turn the student movement along "proper" channels.

While scholarship grants apply to students who need funds to pay tuition fees at private universities, one might well ask why students at national universities, such as Tung Chi, whose tuitions are paid are seemingly so unruly. It is true that they do not have to worry about paying for their studies and thus it is a simple matter to shrug one's shoulders and dismiss their actions as "Red inspired." However, for general information it might be mentioned that students at national universities here last month received the sum of CNC\$410,000 for all expenses including meals.

From details which have been presented, it might be said that the Tung Chi demonstration was a reflection of the vast turmoil that is going on here which daily affects the lives of what are supposed to be China's future leaders. A subject such as this cannot be fairly presented to the public by a few scare headlines with a hostile presentation of some of the facts—with no attempt to look into the background of the whole affair. The sort of treatment given by the press does not help to explain to the public just what is going on. It merely distorts the picture.

As this magazine goes to press almost 175 students have been expelled from Tung Chi. Ostensibly, they were the instigators of the "riot." However, one definite case involves a student who was sick in the hospital days before the incident and didn't get out until after it had occurred. Although he brought this fact before the Dean of Discipline, he was not reinstated. Supposedly, there are a number of cases of people being dismissed who were not even in the vicinity of the general melee.

From the mass of information obtainable from students themselves there have been reports of a number of missing students. The police have not listed them as arrested; yet they have not returned home since the demonstration. One girl, Ho San-cheng, a Tung Chi student who is known to be quite unconcerned with politics or political parties, was seen to have been cut in the face from cheek to cheek by a saber. This girl still has not been located.

# When Will The Communist Forces Cross The Yangtze?

Frederick Lee

**THE** Nationalist High Command recently expressed signs of uneasiness toward the Communists' plan of crossing China's longest river, the Yangtze, in the next few months and spreading regular warfare to the southern provinces of Hunan, Kwangtung, Kweichow, Kiangsi and Chekiang. Many speculations have been made by government, neutral and leftist quarters that the Communists would force a crossing of the Yangtze in March or May at the latest. The general belief is: China's natural Maginot will be overridden sometime next Spring.

This question is extremely important in three respects: first, if Communist forces under General Liu Po-cheng or Chen Yi succeed in crossing the Yangtze, the entire area under the control of the Nationalists will be seriously threatened. Such a threat, of course, will be detrimental to the fighting strength of the Nationalists; second, the current Nationalist plan—or more exactly, the Wedemeyer Plan—of building up South China as a bastion to support the war will be highly handicapped; and third, the fighting morale of the Nationalist troops at the front, especially in the Manchuria and North China sectors, will be further weakened.

## Paddle The Yangtze

As the Communists boast of their success in crossing the Yellow River without suffering noticeable losses last July, they declare that they will be able to paddle across the equally wide Yangtze whenever circumstances require. They now control several hundred miles along the northern bank of the river, while on the opposite side, their guerrillas are rapidly penetrating all the southern provinces. Military observers, however, doubt whether the Reds can establish bases south of the Yangtze under prevailing circumstances, even if they succeed in carrying out their premeditated plan. The question does not lie with the technical difficulties of crossing the big artery—which difficulties are after all not insurmountable. Rather, it is a question of how to stabilize their gains in the Central China battlefield and effectively reduce the combat strength of their enemy after the dumping of large batches of their forces on the southern bank of the river, that possibly makes the Communists hesitate in effecting their strategic plan at the moment.

Before plunging their forces into the southern provinces, the Communists have to fulfil three important projects which are necessary in enforcing such a bold military drive:

(1) They must complete their land reform project in the Central China area which is the basic guarantee of their holdings there after the heavy transference of their forces to the South. Failing this, they would not

be able to solve their recruit and material supply questions.

(2) They must reorganize and expand their combat units to such an extent that they will have enough forces on the second line of combat to maintain their position once a great portion of their first-line combat units is transferred.

(3) They must merge the three separate war zones under Generals Liu Po-cheng, Chen Yi and Cheng Keng into one unified and consolidated military area, so as to facilitate the transportation and transference of troops and war supplies from one sector to another.

## Second Project

All indications provided by different military correspondents are that the Communists have practically completed the first and third projects, leaving the second one yet to be fulfilled in the near future.

An extensive Join-The-Army Campaign is now going on in all Red districts between the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers. The military preparatory work in this Red area, as reported by a correspondent of the *Front Daily*, mouthpiece of the Nationalist Military Headquarters, on January 30, is as follows:

(1) Successive military conferences are being held.

(2) The second line of combat units has been actively expanded and a part has already been sent to the front.

(3) Army rectification work has been intensified.

(4) Military supplies and war booty are being distributed to the various armed detachments.

(5) Wounded soldiers are swiftly sent back to the rear.

(6) Communication lines are being repaired and extended.

(7) Much propaganda has been made to encourage the people to join the army.

In addition to the reports that the Communists are "actively recruiting 200,000 men in each military area," a *United Press* dispatch from Nanking on January 26 reported the following Communist plan for domination of the Yangtze River Valley and eventual disruption of the partially restored trade and commerce in South China:

## Communist Plan

(1) Communist regular forces north of the Yellow River will be sent southwards to reinforce the armies of Generals Liu Po-cheng, Chen Yi and Chen Keng, leaving local militiamen to garrison the vacated areas.

(2) Newly recruited forces in North China will be sent southwards to strengthen the Communist hold on the Tapinghshan Mountains in the area around Hankow.

(3) Destruction of the Lunghai, Peiping-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukow

Railways will be stepped up in line with general Communist policy of weakening the National Government through disruption of transportation.

How long this all-out preparatory work will actually take, no one can tell, but it can be expected that it will take not more than another six weeks, because, according to past experiences, the Communists will "as far as possible not let the enemy have a breathing space" between two wide-scale campaigns.

To deal with such a menacing situation, the Nationalist High Command organizes conference after conference, trying to map out a new strategy to stem the Red southward plunge prior to the completion of Nanking's large scale military training program now going on at an accelerating speed in Taiwan and other parts of South China under the directorship of the American Advisory Group. Once the training program is accomplished, it is hoped, the Nationalists will be able to hold the Yangtze line until a third world war finally breaks out.

The so-called "new strategy" now effected by the Nationalists may be summarized as follows: to hold the Manchurian corridor and the triangular area of Peiping-Paoing-Tientsin at all costs; put up "solid defense lines" in Central China with the aid of local militia; build South China into a strong base to back up the Nationalist rear; and as fast as possible finish the nationwide training of new forces to meet the expected Communist southern expedition.

## Strategy Unsound

This strategy is unsound in that it does not provide for the concentration of combat forces on favorable lines and spots, which is extremely necessary when the Nationalists are entirely forced on the defensive. As events in the past four months have proved, the "mobile defensive strategy" adopted by General Chen Cheng in Manchuria has resulted only in the loss of 24 cities and strategic points and 130,000 men who might have been evacuated from the precarious Manchurian corridor to safer and more favorable areas.

This strategy is also unsound in that by the risky transference of General Fan Han-chieh's divisions to the North from the Kiaotung Peninsula, Shantung, where the Communists are massing their units for the recapture of Weihaiwei, Lungkow and Chefoo, the Nationalists' positions south of the Yellow River are ever more endangered.

Apparently the Nationalists have placed tremendous emphasis on the restoration of the Peiping-Mukden lifeline and the retention of the isolated Changchun, Kirin and Mukden with the aim of checking the



Manchurian Reds from entering China Proper.

"If there were no Manchuria, there would be no North China," the CC-operated *Shun Pao* declared editorially last month, and added, "There would be no Central China if North China were lost."

Realizing the danger of keeping large combat units in the Northeast and the Northwest, while the Communists have already thrown huge troops into Central China the *Front Daily*, on February 2, urged the Government to strengthen its forces along the Central China plain. The Communists are right to take Central China as their main field of activities since the crucial area of military struggle at present "actually" lies between the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers, the Army paper pointed out.

It is, however, not right to say that the KMT generals have overlooked the serious developments occurring in Honan, Hupeh, Anhwei, Shantung, Northern Kiangsu and Southern Shensi in the past three months. The troubles are: first, the Nationalists dare not face the consequences of the withdrawal of their units from Manchuria and the almost surrounded bottleneck in Northern Shensi, and second, they do not have enough forces to put up really "solid defense lines" north of the Yangtze artery. With these shortcomings in view, the only steps the Nationalists could take to stem the Communists' southward stride are the establishment of joint defense lines among provincial military headquarters in the southern provinces, the formation of local self-defense corps, and the putting up of a strong barrier along the Yangtze River through the aid of US marine personnel.

But these are insufficient to stem the Communists' imminent expedition which, once started, will probably go right down to the Tupangning Mountain in Northeastern Kwangsi, Tayuning Mountain in Northern Kwangtung or Wuyishan Mountain in Northern Fukien, where Red guerrillas are already leading the peasants in revolt against the National Government. To avert this imminent crisis, a more serviceable strategy must be mapped out and resolutely put into action before it is too late.

Generally speaking, when one army is being forced to the defensive, the No. One question it should consider is not "face," which will inevitably induce it to take military risks, but realism, which will teach it how to preserve its combat strength and favorable combat positions in the face of menacingly superior opponents. This is exactly the foremost question that the Nationalists should fully consider at present.

To draw up a better strategy based on "cold-minded principles," the Nationalists should:

(1) Promptly withdraw their outnumbered troops from Manchuria and North Shensi which otherwise almost certainly will be annihilated by the Communists.

(2) Concentrate these withdrawn forces along the main lines of defense in North and Central China, and put up really "solid defense lines" north and south of the Yangtze River.

(3) Refrain from wasting their combat strength in battles that they have little or no chance to win.

(4) Strike out on any outnumbered Communist units resolutely and score some real tactical victory so as to bolster the fizzling out morale of the rank and file soldiers.

When efficiently being carried out, the aforementioned principles would enable the Nationalists to hold their positions for a longer duration until new reinforcements from the main training center, Taiwan, could be rushed to the front and eventually check the rapid advances of the Red units.

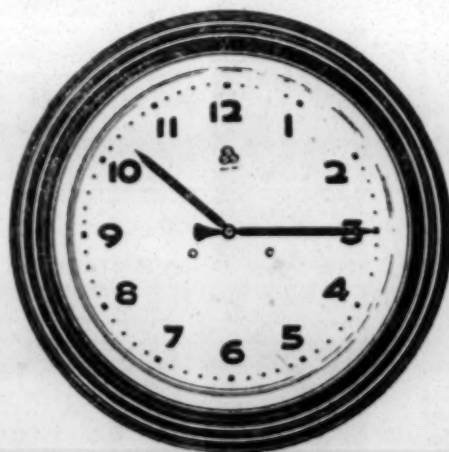
### Grave Mistake

Nevertheless, it would be a grave mistake on the part of the Nationalists to pin their remaining hope entirely on the completion of the American Advisory Group's training program in Taiwan next Summer or Autumn while neglecting or underestimating the defects of their current strategic plan. Judging from the fate of the American-trained and American-equipped New Armies in Manchuria, any sensible reader will see that the recruits now under training in Taiwan will not perform a better job than their unfortunate

comrades, except by delivering more and possibly better American equipment to the Communists, if the directing thought of their generals itself is defective.

It has been argued, meanwhile, that the Manchurian Reds, totalling at least 600,000, would rush over to China Proper once the Nationalist troops there were evacuated, and in order to "freeze" the Red forces in that area, the Manchurian disrupted corridor leading from Shanhai-kwan to Mukden must be maintained. This argument is rather short-sighted in that the huge Red forces in Manchuria would be able to jump over the Great Wall once the Nationalist troops there are annihilated or trapped in the deadwood cities of Changchun and Mukden. To evacuate these outnumbered troops, while it is still possible, to more favorable areas before they are rendered totally impotent would be a much more "profitable business" so far as the Nationalists' interests are concerned. Any blind insistence on further sticking out of their necks into the dangerous Manchurian strip will in the long run be beneficial only to the Communists.

While civil warfare will very likely spread across the Yangtze River—the last and strongest defense line of the Nationalists—in the next few months, it is a grave question whether the KMT generals will drastically revise their strategy to comply with the new situation and eventually avert disaster.



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# A LONDON LETTER

Tony Gibson

(The writer of this letter is now back in England after four years abroad, the last two having been spent in North China.—EDITOR.)

**J**UST now we are recovering from the nearest thing to a pre-War Christmas that most of us have had for a long time. It was quite surprising to most people to see shops filled with food and to find themselves eating with friends without the undercurrent sense of obligation to rise from the table before one had quite eaten one's fill.

Most of the theatres and cinemas have put on their very best. The traditional pantomime fills more theatres than for many years, since some of the big cinemas have let up for a few weeks on celluloid and filled their stages with transformation scenes, spangles, and red-nosed comedians. Everyone has been rather glad to get away from reality at its harshest and to indulge a long-felt need for color and comedy. There are still long queues to inspect the last relics of the Royal wedding, the Exhibition of the Presents. This queue is only rivalled by that which extends along the flank of the Tate Gallery to see the brilliant yellows and purples of the Van Gogh Exhibition. Opera and ballet continue to boom, and potential recruits for the west-end are filling a score of tiny experimental theatres in the suburbs.

## Drab Existence

We certainly need to have something to relieve the drabness and frustration of existence. For on the surface, life is not easy and can be depressing to a degree. Queueing has become a national complex, and I have noted that in the mainline stations, queues are industriously forming for trains in which there are more than enough seats for everyone. Would that this could be said of all the other things for which so many people stand with such resignation. There always seems to be a shortage of something, usually something to eat, such as potatoes, meat and now fish. And the black-coated worker who stands at the bus stop every day does not find overmuch comfort in the news that we are making better use of our transport services in turning over railway waggons to help the export trade.

Just now, with the new year begun, and all the festivities of Christmas finished, with the great illuminated Christmas tree presented to us from Oslo taken down from its reign in Trafalgar Square, and with the old austerities back again at our throats, the general atmosphere resembles the Morning After. But it is noteworthy that if we feel that after-Christmas "heaviness in the stomach" it does not seem to have filled us with the usual lassitude. "Dr." Cripps has given us a somewhat dismal prescription. But his

judgment is respected; and the patient has not yet given up hope.

It is interesting to see how the political parties are changing under the impact of our economic crisis. A good many of the old party issues that were championed by Mr. Churchill have now faded away before the unambiguous figures of the national balance sheet. And the vigorous theorizing of the extreme Left is no longer so loudly heard. The principal parties have reached a surprising number of agreements on the main lines along which the country's recovery will be sought. The Conservatives have written into their Industrial Charter the principles of Price Control, Rationing, and Planning of human and material resources with almost as much fervour as the Socialists. The Government's mild suggestion for reform of the House of Lords has prompted if anything more drastic counter proposals from the Opposition.

A steady progress towards self-government and the development of the economic potential of our few remaining colonies has made the present Colonial Secretary one of the most popular men on all sides of the House. In foreign policy no one has yet found much of a stick to beat Mr. Bevin with; except perhaps those who wish we were less negative in our policy towards the new liberalism in China. There are comparatively few who seriously want to hinder him in his policy even if they could find an opportunity. There seems a general agreement that our ideals as well as our strategic interests, or lack of them, are forcing us to feel round for a moral leadership to replace the domination which we once had as a great military and economic power.



"Mr. Truman left twins on the doorstep."

It is interesting to note that 80 members of Parliament are already committed in the British section of the new World Government Organization. Perhaps this is only a last flickering of the idealisms and illusions which totalitarian warfare has done so much to quench. Yet there seems among ordinary people to be a resilience and a bed-rock faith in the future which none of our austerities and party polemics have been able to disturb. The Gallup Polls have shown fairly clearly that party feeling between Conservatives and Socialists is now about level, since in the last two months the Socialists have made up for some of the public confidence they lost in the Autumn. What everyone is concerned with is less a difference in principles, than an improvement in practices.

The bloodless revolution which we are undergoing has brought us to the point where most responsible people are agreed that the Government's job, whatever its party coloring, is to evoke an effort from each man according to his ability, and to effect a share to each man according to his need. The real concern now is with the lessening of the bureaucracy and the committee-mongering which stands in the way of doing that job economically, in terms of time and of manpower.

## Judgment Suspended

And so, though most of us watch with judgment suspended the administration of the Labor Government, we do not withhold our cooperation. It is early yet to say just how deep and how strong is this sense of national unity which seems to leave party politics outside our most fundamental concerns. But one might hazard a guess that the ruthless surgery enforced upon us by our economic necessities is having the effect of pruning upon a tree, and if our gardeners are skilful enough we may emerge the better for it.

There are times when one is tempted by the burgeoning of the arts and humanities in England today, to make a comparison with Greece whose greatest glory of spirit was at the time of her military and economic decline.

So far we have sunk our pride to accept American help and to hope for more, but only if we can convince ourselves that our independence remains reasonably intact. For we are glimpsing something of an English renaissance—and that is not to be computed in terms of dollars. But if we ever come to a conflict between dollar dependence and the chance of less material but more enduring glories, I do not think our choice will be long in doubt.



# IS PARTITION FEASIBLE?

Hsieh Ching-an

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review.)

IT has recently been suggested by a number of foreign observers, some of them distinguished newspapermen, that the only solution to internecine strife in China is to partition her into two separate states, one to be dominated by the Nationalists and the other by the Chinese Communists. Now this idea may be endorsed by some, but only by those, I think, who are woefully ignorant of Chinese history, social institutions and ethical principles. Let me present several facts which, upon even superficial consideration, will show this suggestion to be not only impracticable but also utterly ridiculous.

First is the fact that the bulk of the teeming Chinese population of about 5,000,000 are of a common stock, the Han race. This group thrives along the valleys of the Yellow River thousands of years ago, and gradually scattered over the entire country. Though there are still some other races in Tibet, Sinkiang Province, Inner Mongolia and Southwest China, they form but a minority and have been more or less assimilated by the overwhelming majority of the Han people, who have tremendous power to absorb alien tribes dwelling in their midst. An example of this power is the case of the Manchus who, since the late Ching dynasty, have been so thoroughly "hanized" that nowadays they have virtually lost their own identity.

## One Language

The second fact which weighs against partition is that, despite different dialects, the Chinese people have one written language, which is universally employed as a method of expression. Wherever he goes within the boundaries of his country, the Chinese can readily make himself understood in writing, or by speaking Kuan Hua (the official spoken language), which has long been spoken throughout the country.

Thirdly, although there are Confucianists, Buddhists, Taoists, Mohammedans and Christians among the Chinese population, there is a complete absence of animosity and persecution in regard to religious belief and practice. From time immemorial, the Chinese have held to the idea that religion is a purely personal matter which concerns nobody but the worshipper himself. A man may be a pious Christian and his wife a devout Buddhist; yet in China they are able to live together in harmony. Nowhere in the history of China is there evidence of a religious war.

Fourthly, most Chinese are by nature peace-loving, contented, frugal and industrious, with a keen sense of humor and responding readily to real friendliness and sympathy. To these innate qualities has been added the high level of ethical training in family life—the practice of filial piety and the exercise of the "five constant virtues" of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom

and sincerity in the relationship of man to man. Consideration of this, and of the fact that the economic basis of life in China is almost universally agricultural, makes it clear why in manners and customs Chinese everywhere do not differ very much. Their philosophies and modes of life in respect to every event, from the cradle to the grave, are virtually identical.

## Family Is Unit

Lastly, let us realize that, to a Chinese, the family rather than the individual is the unit. Anything that will injure the family or bring discredit to its name is to be condemned and abhorred. Loyalty to the family,

the maintenance of close, friendly ties with kinsfolk and relatives, honor of ancestors, all are primary moral doctrines which the Chinese are trained to observe from earliest infancy. This accounts for the easy affinity and sentimental affection shown to one another by persons of the same surname when they are brought face to face, though they may live as far apart as the poles and never have met before. These large families are far-flung affairs, but that does not lessen the loyalty which exists among their members.

For instance, in so-called "Manchoukuo," set up in Manchuria by the Japanese in the mid-30s, most of the inhabitants, including a number of settlers from other provinces, were hostile to the puppet regime. One of the primary reasons for this hostility was the fact that they were always held firmly by family ties to their kinsfolk in other sections of the country. Not even at the point of a bayonet could they be compelled to sever family relationships or to look upon even unknown, distant relatives as aliens.

## Partition Impossible

The five main facts mentioned above must show clearly the impossibility of ever partitioning China. Although this has recently been done in India (and it is still a question whether the move was a wise one), the insurmountable differences in religion, race, cast, language and customs that exist in that country make a comparison out of the question. Nor can the case of Palestine be taken as a pattern, for there also the Arabs and Jews are fighting because of religious and racial differences.

Even if we assume, for reasons of argument, that it is possible to divide China in two, where should the dividing line be? What methods should be used to force the Chinese people to disown one another? Who can guarantee that the ambitious authorities of one side will not attempt to extend their influence beyond their own boundaries and into the other side? And should China, after division, be placed under the control of the United Nations, of which she is now a chief member state? Or should the two opposing regimes be supervised by foreign powers in the manner of Korea at present? The answer to the last question, of course, can only be an emphatic "No!" To the other questions there obviously are no answers at all.

As was aptly stated in an editorial in the *Washington Post*, the job of running the subcontinent of China is beyond the genius of anybody but the Chinese. The only way to prevent our country from collapsing is for the warring factions to compromise at once and to cooperate wholeheartedly in carrying out a program of national reconstruction. For, let it be borne in mind, "United, we stand; divided, we fall!"

## Who's Who in China

MEI KING-CHOU, Chinese Minister to Cuba; born at Canton, Kwangtung, September 25, 1896; graduate of Canton Christian College, Canton, 1916; graduate of Oberlin College, USA, June, 1921 with



Mei King-chou  
(梅景周)

B.A. degree; attended University of Chicago and Massachusetts Institute of Technology; YMCA secretary of the Chinese Labor Battalion in France during the first World War; member of the Treaty Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nanking, 1929-30; third secretary with the rank of second class secretary, Chinese Legation, Cuba, 1930; vice-consul with the rank of consul, Havana, and later promoted consul, 1931; consul to Hawaii, 1931-33, and promoted consul-general, 1933-46; delegate of the Ministry of Industry to the 19th National Foreign Trade Convention and the 9th Pacific Foreign Trade Convention, 1932; observer at the Versailles Peace Conference, 1919 and the United Nations San Francisco Conference, 1945 and the National Assembly at Nanking, 1946; author of "Answers on and Reasons for the Manchurian Controversy" (1932); "Essays of China's Present Situation," (1933); "The Modern China," (radio addresses, 1934); "China's War of Resistance (1938)" and "Observations on My Recent Trip to China" (1947); address: Chinese Legation, Havana, Cuba.

# Yunnan Roundup

Helen P. F. Shih

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review.)

Kunming, February 1.  
**W**ITH a view to speeding up administrative efficiency, Lung Yun, the ex-Governor of Yunnan, had planned to build a large office for the Provincial Government. The building would have housed the Departments of Education, Reconstruction and Civil Affairs and Finance.

With the outbreak of war, however, this plan failed to materialize. Last November, the Provincial Government Council passed a proposal to build the office, this time submitted by Governor Lu Han. To the "poor" Government, this meant selling hundreds of buildings in order to raise construction expenses. As China is run by a "corruption Government," this was an excellent opportunity for the various big shots to use their influence and buy these structures. "An inch of land is worth an ounce of gold," aptly describes land on which a building stands in any part of China. It is rumored that some of these big shots have made huge profits by reselling the one-time Government structures.

## Park Not Open

Those on the inside declare that originally the Provincial Government had not intended to build Yun Shui Park. However, it was finished recently and is now occupied by the Yunnan Council, although it is still not open to the public. The reason is said to be that certain influential persons managed to corner a great deal of the available building materials, and then managed to push

through the Government Council a measure obtaining for them the required sanction to build the Park. Now, the same thing is happening again, and quite a few of the "big boys" and their henchmen will have the opportunity to buy buildings. But the people who rented land from the Government, in which they had invested money by either building their own houses or repairing broken down shacks, have been deprived of their buildings and kicked out.

## Notoriously Corrupt

There are thousands of unemployed in Kunming and other hsien, therefore, why should not the Government at least use the money obtained for the benefit of the lao pai hsing, rather than spend it on a "big office?" It is quite doubtful whether administrative efficiency will be speeded up even if this office is completed. Are there not many modern offices in the capital of every province, as well as Nanking? In all these places administrative conditions are believed to be notoriously corrupt.

**A**CCORDING to official propaganda, Yunnan has a democratic organization called the Yunnan People's Enterprise Corporation. It was supposedly founded by the people and for the people, not only of this province but for all China. In reality, this Corporation is controlled by a gang of bureaucrats and has done nothing for the people since its establishment. All organs under the control of the Yunnan Provincial Enterprise Bureau, the Yunnan Provincial Economic Commission and the Yunnan Provincial Fu Tien Bank, in accordance with the regulations, have been incorporated into this "People's" Corporation some time ago. It is believed that only a portion of the properties belonging to the above mentioned organizations have been openly taken over by the Corporation. The Provincial Government has taken over another portion "in secret." The people of Yunnan would like to have the Corporation make a detailed report with a full explanation to the public (since every Yunnanese is supposedly a lawful shareholder). Although the "yessmen" councillors continually attack the Corporation, they do so only for their own selfish interests for they are not the real representatives of the lao pai hsing.

Miou Yun-tai, the general manager, has turned his position in the Corporation into one for making political capital. It is said that group of Yunnanese students, now "studying" in America will be placed in the Corporation upon their return to Kunming. All Yunnanese students in America receive a spe-

cial subsidy from the Corporation. Two of the students whose English is considered far below standard are now in America for "advanced study."

It is well known that Yunnanese tobacco, grown from American seed, is very good. It is also well known that this province has an abundant supply of labor. The Kunming Cigarette Makers' Union reported recently that Miou, taking full advantage of his position in the Corporation and the supply of good tobacco and labor has contracted to manufacture cigarettes in Kunming for a foreign firm in Shanghai. This is a harsh blow to the small group of cigarette manufacturers in Kunming who are on the verge of bankruptcy because of a shortage of capital. It is the duty of the Corporation to support them and not to repress them. Chinese, of course, welcome the investment of foreign capital in industry. But, we are in need of capital investment in heavy industry and not light industry. This is the opinion of specialists and it is to be hoped that the Corporation will re-consider such plans as just mentioned which are definitely harmful to the people.

**U**NDER present conditions of runaway inflation, high taxes and conscription the people are even more hard pressed than they were during the war. With every passing day the bandits grow in number. In the south and the east of this province they are fast becoming a serious political problem. Under the slogan of anti-tax, anti-conscription, anti-opium and self-aid, they have declared themselves to be a "Democratic Union Army." Thousands of lao pai hsing form this army and, in addition to hand grenades, carry American rifles and machine guns. Looking at history, this is a form of "peasant's rebellion," as these people are the real "oppressed class."

The story of the "peasant's rebellion", recently reported by the CC clique-controlled *Chen I Pao* (Justice Daily), which took place in Shui-lee County on the Burma border because of anti-opium sentiment, bears this out. The rebels not only occupied the county but threw Wanting, an important port, into great disorder. The Customs House there was forced to retreat from Wanting to Mengshih. In the meantime, the rebels furiously resisted the fully equipped soldiers of the Yunnan Garrison Headquarters who are used for the suppression of riots.

**W**ITH a view towards helping the poor, the Kunming Municipal Government attempted to raise money for a winter relief drive. At the conclusion of the one-week drive,

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a total of about CNC\$300,000,000 had been raised. However, CNC\$100,000,000 of this was eaten up by "miscellaneous expenses." To the distressed, CNC\$200,000,000 is only "a bowl of water and a cord of wood." Here again we are reminded of the matter of requisitioning the Chinese-owned bank deposits in the United States and the plan for collecting a special national reconstruction tax from the rich. These have been drawn up and approved by the State Council and must be carried out at an early date so that the Government can do something for the people. The recent decision of the French Government to collect a heavy tax from the rich should serve as a fine example to China.

**T**HE so-called "General Elections" have been merely a waste of both time and the taxpayers' money. Following the "election" of the delegates to the National Assembly, five members of the Control Yuan were "chosen" by the Yunnan Council on December 26, 1947. It is said that one of the five KMT candidates, a member of the Yunnan Provincial Food Administration, bribed those councillors who cast their ballots for him. He did this through the offer of a good position in the Hsien Food Administration or with a so-called "heavy gold chop." He, of course, has spent much money and given many grand feasts in honor of the councillors. An unbiased observer says the definition of the word "democracy" in the Chinese dictionary is: "Government by and for the big shots and the rich." The poor lao pai hsing however have no money to waste in playing around with politics.

The 14 members (including one woman) who were "chosen" on January 21, 22, and 23 for the Legislative Yuan were also from the three electorates including the 131 hsien and the Municipality of Kunming. One relative of the former governor, Lung Yun, and a former official, is a candidate. In order to control the elections in his electorate, he bribed each pao chia chief with one woolen Dr. Sun Yat-sen uniform. A notorious tax collector during the era of Lu Tzung-jen, who is now Lu Han's henchman, also participated in the elections. Nobody seems to know why Election Headquarters appointed him as a candidate.

Up to the present, a local paper reports, there are numerous cases of "election trouble" before the Kunming Court and 17 other hsien courts. Several candidates of the Yunnan Provincial Labor Union charge Tzeng Shuh-hwai, mayor of Kunming and concurrently the Chief of the Kunming Municipal Election Office, with "illegal election procedure."

Mr. Pi Tsang-yun, Supervisor of the Yunnan Provincial KMT Office, sent an open telegram to President Chiang and Chen Li-fu, head of the CC clique, who holds the election power in Nanking. In it, Mr. Pi publicly washes the KMT's dirty linen and attacks Chen for having

appointed candidates as delegates to the National Assembly from one "clique" in the KMT. It is greatly disappointing to the people that so many faithful members of the KMT, who are not members of any clique, have been deprived of the chance to be chosen. As soon as the lists of candidates of members to the Legislative Yuan appointed by the KMT were made public, many men gave up their KMT membership because of "election control." Mr. Pi also warned Chen of the danger that the KMT will be finished because of his

prejudiced control and he may very well be damned by the people forever.

In short, it is quite easy for the lao pai hsing to foresee that those who have the controlling power and have spent much money in their electorates will become the "chosen" members to the Legislative Yuan when the votes are totaled. This, of course, will be accomplished regardless of the ability or reputation of the individual and it is small wonder that the people are not interested in the elections.



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# China's Ailing Textile Industry

Ben Y. Lee

**I**N general, textile workers are far better off today than any other group of laborers in China. Their job is more or less permanent in character, and their average income exceeds even that of a middle school teacher. Prior to the war, textile laborers were underpaid and underfed. Factory girls could be seen going to work in wheel-barrows. The average working day was 12 hours.

Today, the factory workers eat well and enjoy many luxuries that students with college diplomas are unable to enjoy. They take pedicabs or ride first-class on tramcars and trains. Their working day has been cut to 10 hours and they have many more holidays with pay. And yet these workers consider themselves ill-treated.

## Official Index

Prior to the war, the millhand was paid 50 cents a day, the skilled worker 80 cents, and the machinist CN\$1.50 in Chinese mills and CN\$1.80 in Japanese-owned mills; today they receive from CN\$1 to CN\$2 basic pay, according to the official index, which last month was 95,200 times the 1937 figure. In accordance with custom, this year each worker was given from one to two

months' pay as a New Year Bonus, as well as cloth and the City Government's ration of 30 catties of rice. Considering the present cost of living standard, which is about 150,000 times the 1937 level, today's workers receive far more than they did before the war.

Compared with the Japanese who, from the educated few to the manual laborers, are working for their country at minimum pay in order to manufacture products at a low enough cost so that public consumers will be benefited and the world market invaded, Chinese workers, it seems, seek only for personal gain and are imbued with the idea of "the more we get the more we want," completely disregarding China's welfare.

Most Chinese millhands are illiterate and easily led. Due to Communist agitation and propaganda, textile workers in particular are restless and ready to demand higher wages, extra bonuses, or call a strike on the flimsiest pretext. In order to pacify the workers, the Government has always shown a conciliatory attitude toward them. The prerequisite for running a successful textile plant today is an understanding of the psychological behavior of the worker. Technical

and economic problems are of secondary importance.

A job in a textile mill is so attractive that a young man or woman, wishing to learn a trade, is often willing to pay a few months' wages to a skilled worker as a "compensation fee." Under present conditions, practically no outsider is able to secure a job in a textile factory without paying some sort of bribe or "gift." For the Lunar New Year textile mechanics, No. One men and those in authority in the mills usually receive a roomful of gifts from their "apprentices." A watchman or doorkeeper of a mill must be prepared to part with a couple of million dollars as "initial capital" before he is given the job.

## Labor Costs

High labor costs may be explained thus: Prior to the war, the average operating cost for the production of 20's yarn was not over CN\$30, including wages, salaries, power and incidental expenses. Last August, these same expenses totalled from CN\$1,500,000 to CN\$2,000,000. But today, the average operating expense for the same product is over CN\$10,000,000.

As a result of high labor costs, the barter system of exchanging foreign cotton for domestic manufactured yarn is no longer a profitable undertaking. This barter system was first promoted by the China Textile Industries Inc., and since the end of 1947 it has been carried on by the United Textile Export Committee at the exchange ratio of 712½ lbs. of cotton for one bale of 20's yarn. Out of the 712½ lbs. of cotton, 450 lbs. is used to manufacture yarn, leaving 262½ lbs. as compensation for operating expenses. The present value of 262½ lbs. of cotton is a little over CN\$10,000,000, which is not sufficient to cover all the costs.

All these additional expenses naturally increase the cost per unit of the manufactured product, but despite the exorbitant prices of cotton textiles, the textile industry is not the profitable enterprise most people are inclined to think it is. Unsettled labor conditions, coupled with political instability, tend to make millowners and capitalists unwilling to establish new mills or expand their plants for the time being. To avoid the aforesaid drawbacks, many manufacturers have established cotton mills in Hongkong. These unfavorable factors are ominous signs for the Chinese textile industry.

## Shanghai's American Daily-- more than "just a newspaper"

During these trying post-war days, the Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury has slipped into a peculiarly intimate place in the minds and hearts of readers. Perhaps that is because it tries in every way to be as human as your best friend. Read it for true straight news, most of it printed at least 15 hours ahead of other Shanghai papers; for outspoken views; for bright touches and entertainment features which will take your mind off your troubles. For the times, subscription rates are low:

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## The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury

19 Chung Cheng Road, Shanghai (13).

**T**HE Sung Sing No. 9 Cotton Mill is one of the oldest and largest in China. Situated on Macao Road, the Mill operates 130,380 cotton spindles and 817 looms, employing over 5,000 workers.



The recent riot at the Sung Sing Mill, which took three lives and caused scores of casualties, was not so much due to wage disputes as it was to the unreasonable demands presented by the workers—demands unprecedented in the history of China's cotton industry. As an example, one of the demands was that a loan of two months wages be given to each worker for the New Year, a request management was unwilling to meet.

In addition to the loss of life and the casualties inflicted on the workers, damage suffered by the mill amounted to a considerable sum. However, the mill management has decided to reopen on February 14, after the Lunar New Year holiday. On the charge of creating disturbances, a large number of workers will be dismissed while others will be brought to court.

Since the riot, the Government has sent representatives to Shanghai to investigate the causes and discover whether there is any substantial evidence that it was Communist-instigated. High authorities express the belief that the violence is attributable to a well-laid-out and long-planned Communist attempt to cause bloodshed. It is said that the Communists organized the disturbance in order to stir up nationwide feeling among workers, deliberately using Shanghai as the target.

#### Strikers Directed

Roughly speaking, there are about 100,000 organized textile workers in Shanghai, most of whom are women and girls who, although uneducated are more or less intimately connected with some one in authority. They participate in demonstrations and disputes as they are directed, without knowing the reason, as they owe moral and social allegiance elsewhere.

CHINESE millowners are in a dilemma. On the one hand they are confronted with continuous labor trouble, which, in turn is causing their products to go up in price. In order to safeguard the consumers of cotton goods and stabilize prices, the National Textile Adjustment Control Committee, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, was established recently. Its functions are to contract for all spinning and weaving mills to produce for the Government at a reasonable profit to be fixed by the authorities.

Meanwhile, textile manufacturers assert that an imminent crisis is facing Chinese textile enterprises, should the Government enforce the recently adopted regulations. However, the authorities feel that local manufacturers should cooperate with the Government in the enforcement of the measures, and they have issued a warning that any textile producer who tries to close his factory at this time will be dealt with according to the law.

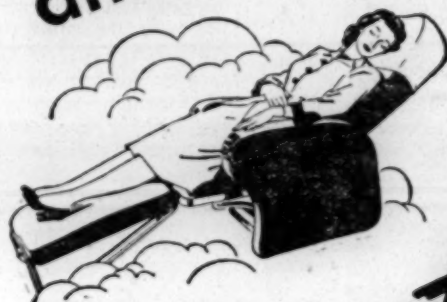
At this critical period, close co-operation between the Government, the manufacturers and the workers

should be observed and all should consider the welfare of the nation as of the utmost importance. The Government has done its best to assist textile manufacturers and at the same time help workers to receive a fair wage, so that the industry may be developed and expanded in accordance with the measures adopted and resolutions passed at the National Textile Industry Convention held in Shanghai last November.

China's cotton mills have not been operating at full capacity since VJ Day. In 1946, most mills operated

at about 55 percent capacity, and in 1947 at about 70 percent. Mainly due to the political and military situation, particularly in Manchuria, in the current year, operation capacity is not expected to reach 90 percent. If all the mills were operating, China's annual yarn production would be around 3,000,000 bales, or about 35 percent more than her present level. When this rate has been reached, and if her domestic consumption does not increase greatly, China may have a large surplus for overseas trade.

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# CHINA AID: ONE OF THREE CONSIDERATIONS

J. R. Kaim

VERY soon now the United States is expected to give birth to triplets: European Relief, a China Loan and Price Control. There is no doubt that the Administration is gravely alarmed at the soaring commodity prices in the US. While the sharp declines witnessed last week on the Chicago pit and New York commodity markets may indicate that prices have reached their peak, a new wave of price increases should be expected in the future. In other words, there is no guarantee yet that inflation in the United States has come to an end. Therefore, the last of the triplets may stand a good chance for survival.

Willingly or otherwise, America has found herself up to the neck in world affairs—politically and economically. The Marshall Plan for Europe is one such denoting factor. The China loan—although small in comparison—is another. Whether these two plans would have had such good prospects in the absence of Russo-US antagonism is questionable, but the fact remains that such hostility of feeling does exist.

As matters stand, the above three programs are closely connected, as American aid plans would be illusory should prices be allowed to find their own levels: with the increase

in demand, prices would certainly rise rapidly once Europe and China started importing on a large scale.

In general, the "average American" now accepts the fact that when commodities are exported to back US policy and to bolster other nations against Communist infiltration or aggression, shortages may appear, prices may soar and American consumers may become even more stirred up than they already are. In addition, any calculations based on supplies to beneficiaries would be fundamentally wrong.

It is generally conceded that the reintroduction of price controls in the United States indicates a Republican defeat, for it was the latter party which led the fight against Chester Bowles, America's "price dictator," and against the remnants of the Roosevelt administration. Obviously, the Republican prophecy that mass production would bring prices down and that controls hindered production have proved falacious. Since the OPA was terminated and prices freed, the latter have gone uphill at an astounding rate.

No matter what controls are reimposed, or how much Congress may reject "regimentation," American economy will not be as free as it

is as present. On the other hand, European economy will probably be freer than at any time since 1939. Evidently the Marshall plans will bring about not only aid, but a step-by-step change in world economics as well. This is their actual purpose.

When the essence of such programs are caused by political considerations, they can be successful only if and when the countries to which they are applied gain in strength. This refers to China as well as Europe.

Under such conditions, the many discussions about what China needs more urgently: currency reform or increased production—appear somewhat platonic. Until capital is allowed to work freely and productively to rebuild China's economic strength, the amount to be loaned and the conditions of such a loan are irrelevant.

It would be childish to believe that Americans will swallow the bitter pill of price control at home when they are aware that commodities sent abroad are going the way so many UNRRA goods went in the past. This time it is not a question of relief. If it were, few Americans would grumble at eating a little less



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The Bigger They Grow, the More They Eat



—Lewis, in The Milwaukee Journal

meat or making their machines last a year longer.

This time is no mere economic program where the creditor gambles on the outcome. Whether one likes it or not, the United States is engaged in a diplomatic war against Russia and is going to make sure that her money will be invested in such a way as to further her diplomatic aims.

If the goal is to strengthen those who oppose Russia's political maneuvers, it is evident that the prevailing economic system in China cannot be the fundament on which an aid program can be built. Under the present system here, inflation has mounted and huge structures of regulations, restrictions, rules and monopolies have been built.

The Government may have worked hard to find its way out of the economic maze, but it has failed. It is not the men, who have done and are still doing the job, who have failed. The breakdown of the system was inevitable.

This writer is continually amazed to hear people talk about the forthcoming loan from a mere financial point of view, and to listen to discussions on whether the loan will be large enough to permit a real currency reform or whether it would be wiser to use it to purchase huge quantities of industrial raw materials.

While it is all very well to talk about "what China needs first," the question is not so simply answered. The important thing is what China needs first in order for her to fit into the whole triplet problem.

Were the two chief problems under discussion merely Chinese, for instance: 1) How to rescue the Chinese currency, and, 2) how to help the Nationalists finish the Civil War, it would be much simpler of solution. But there is still some question as to whether any large sum would be available in America for an intrinsically Chinese aid program.

Now that aid to Europe and China are definitely linked with sacrifices in America and to the American diplomatic offensive, the last three issues must be regarded as a whole. The great Marshall venture, which is great from both the political and economic viewpoint, will work only when plans can be synchronized and pushed through in all three theaters.

## The Week's Business

THE week under review, from February 5 to February 11, was a week of holidays and "closed markets." It was the week of Chinese New Year, officially called Spring Festival, greatest of all holidays in this country but at the same time a headache to many a businessman: accounts have to be settled and debts paid before the festival.

One day before the chief holiday, namely on February 9, the Central Bank unexpectedly fixed a new dollar rate, increasing its cover rate by CNC\$4,000 to CNC\$135,500. By failing to increase the pound Sterling rate, the Bank established the amazingly low cross rate between dollar and pound of \$3.05 for the pound. Financiers here believed that this cross rate may introduce a new exchange policy, but were unable to ascertain whether their views were shared by the Central Bank.

Boiled down to a few words, their belief is that the Bank may decide to grant hard currency for a percentage of imports from non-Sterling countries. At present, imports from such countries, with the exception of Switzerland, are generally paid for in Sterling—as the Central Bank does not allot dollars for such purposes—thus increasing the pound accumulation in countries such as France, Belgium, Sweden, Italy, while at the same time rendering trade with non-Sterling countries particularly difficult.

Since the beginning of the current year, the official dollar rate has increased by 50 percent, whereas black market rates during the same period are reported to have declined by almost 15 percent. It has been said, therefore, that the Central Bank is trying gradually to reach the prevailing black market quotations, with a view to making sale of foreign exchange to the state more attractive.

While recent readjustments of the dollar rate may have offered some chances to commercial exporters, the latter continued to claim that

Government corporations are trying to take over an ever increasing share of foreign trade. Furthermore, they claim that the Central Trust and other government-run concerns are selling abroad at prices no commercial firm is able to compete with.

The Trust, on the other hand, according to a news item published on February 9, announced that it "will push its plans for promoting Chinese exports on a broad scale." The announcement also stated that the Trust will grant special loans to producers of exportable products, a policy which last year helped to build up its present monopoly status.

Meanwhile, newspapers last week carried dozens of stories about the forthcoming American loan, its probable amount and the goals to be reached once the money is available. Nothing, however, was known here or published about the conditions linked with an eventual loan; businessmen could only hope that conditions will not tend to strengthen State monopolies.

While price developments on the various commodity markets were rather erratic during the week under review, as is usual shortly before the Chinese festival, and prices in general showed new increases, the Stock Exchange had more losses than gains. Compared with the beginning of the year, all shares have lost remarkably. Whether such losses were caused by the approach of the New Year settlement days, as some observers presume, or whether previous gains had been caused merely by the influx of idle funds from North China, still remains to be seen. Only during the second half of February will it be possible to establish facts in this respect.

After two holidays the Stock Exchange reopened on February 11; business was quiet with the majority of the shares dealt with during the half-day session losing, and Wing On Textiles forward quotation dropping from 717, opening, to 702.

### Quotations

| Stocks           | Feb. 4  | Feb. 11 | Commodities       | Feb. 4     | Feb. 7     |
|------------------|---------|---------|-------------------|------------|------------|
|                  | CNC\$   | CNC\$   |                   | CNC\$      | CNC\$      |
| Wing On Textiles | 708     | 700     | White Rice, first | 1,650,000  | 1,720,000  |
| Mayar Silk       | 1,060   | 1,030   | Wheat Flour       | 655,000    | 665,000    |
| Commercial Press | 345     | 340     | Peanut Oil        | 3,820,000  | 3,840,000  |
| Wing On Co.      | 260     | 260     | Raw Silk "C"      | 89,000,000 | 90,000,000 |
| Ewo Cotton       | 545,000 | —       | Jap. Rayon        | 91,000,000 | 86,500,000 |
| Bond C           | 65,500  | —       | Cotton Yarn 42    | 61,700,000 | 60,500,000 |
|                  |         |         | Cotton Yarn 20    | 39,300,000 | 35,700,000 |
|                  |         |         | Caustic Soda      | 49,000,000 | 52,500,000 |
|                  |         |         | Koo Pun Soap      | 2,050,000  | 2,400,000  |

While the above stock quotations refer to February 11, the commodity prices refer to February 7; most commodity markets were kept closed between February 8 and 13.



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## The Review's English Lesson—XVIII

### AN INTERESTING SELECTION OF WORDS AND TERMS

THE English lesson prefers to treat of questions on English usage brought up by readers of the *Review*, and Mr. A. L. Chen of Wenchow is modest in suggesting that his question might not be of interest to his fellow readers. The words discussed here appear constantly in current writing of opinion and fact on world affairs, and are constantly intended to be understood in their idiomatic sense. Their meanings, in this case, cannot be frozen into a dictionary or into books on English or American usage.

\* \* \*

The first few that Mr. Chen asks about, however, are: **perpetuate**, more usually in the adjective form, **perpetual**, means to continue forever and without interruption, and is a verb; and **intrinsic** is an adjective meaning essential or of itself, and in the sentence from which it was quoted serves no purpose. (See *China Weekly Review*, December 27, 1947, p. 107 and p. 109).

The phrase **on the market** is now more generally used than **in the market**; in fact, **in the market** seems to mean now only in a certain area reserved for the retail sale of commodities, usually vegetables and meat, or a market place. **On the market** now means an opportunity to offer to buy or sell among a group of interested people organized or not. The black market is usually, therefore, introduced by **on**.

The words **company**, **corporation**, **incorporated**, **limited** etc. (usually abbreviated) following the names of organizations, have a legal significance varying with the laws of the countries of their registration, but having to do essentially with the degree of liability of the operating shareholders of the group.

Sometimes, as Mr. Chen notes, two words describe one group. **Committee** and **Commission** are used to designate groups of people, usually appointed by larger groups in concert to carry out a plan for them. **Committee** is used for smaller, volunteer, and routine groups, **Commission** is for larger, paid, and special groups. The choice of the word lies with the appointing group. Government commissions, city, provincial, national and even international, direct and control many phases of society today. Within them, committees recommend, carry out, guide and act, but in comparison to commissions come to life and close down very frequently.

Fowler's *Modern English Usage* and an American counterpart, *An Index to English* by Porter G. Perrin, agree that **proved** is used as the past participle form of the verb **to prove** in its use with an auxiliary as a finite verb. But **proven**, they say, can be used as an adjective (participle) as in, "the case is not proven". It is, as Mr. Chen suggests, archaic to use **proven**,

but it is used frequently by journalists, probably for the sake of variety.

**Consumer goods** are goods, assembled and functional, which are used up by the first retail purchaser. This strict definition, however, is not regarded, and the words stand for all goods which are not raw products or semi-finished goods. **Linear yards** means yards of length; in studying statistics about cloth some readers might understand the word **yards** alone to mean square yards.

Some words, which to the fresh eye seem strange, are well known to constant readers of American newspapers and magazines. **Automotive** is an adjective that describes anyone or anything concerned with the manufacture, sale and upkeep of automobiles. **Movies** are cinemas; in America the use of **cinema** is considered affected. **Held incommunicado** means strictly, if not legally, imprisoned without an opportunity to talk to anyone; its use implies a criticism of the police or government who so hold a man, for it is in the constitutions of most governments that an arrested man has the right to state his case very soon after his apprehension.

**Stripe**, as in **diplomatic stripe**, means class, with the definite implication that the evidences of it are apparent in an individual's manner. **Cartoon** and **caricature** are both satirical drawings; the first contains enough figures and things to explain an opinion, the second is a portrait in which certain features of the subject are exaggerated to obtain a humorous effect. Any real person drawn into a cartoon is, therefore, caricatured.

Journalists frequently describe a piece of writing which differs in opinion from their own as a caricature of the facts. And so may some of these opinions be caricatures of the facts, and the English Lesson would like to hear about it, for only by a lot of give and take can the idioms of any language be kept bright and clear.



Messner in The Rochester Times-Union

# What US Papers Say

**A**MERICAN policy toward China, the millions of refugees in this country and Dr. Hollington Tong's assertion that censorship does not exist in China were commented on editorially by US papers. Other subjects of interest were Gandhi's death and the Malayan Constitution.

## US Policy And China

**O**NE of the biggest aids to Chinese-American friendship would be an adequate American program of telling the Chinese "what American aims really are," the *Christian Science Monitor* stated in an editorial.

"Anti-foreignism today is rampant in that country. It stems understandably from a century-long exploitation of China by foreign powers. But it is now chiefly directed against the United States, which is at this very moment drawing up a limited aid program for the Nationalist Government."

The proposed American aid is being used by propagandists of both the extreme Left and extreme Right as an example of "infringement of Chinese sovereignty," if administered under American supervision.

"What is needed is a vigorous, alert, information service in China—a true Voice of America—to refute falsehoods and tell the Chinese clearly what American aims really are. That will go much further than dollars dumped blindly behind a Chinese wall of resentment."

## China's Refugees

**R**EFERRING to the figures as "stupefying," even with due allowance for exaggeration, the *New York Times* said that "According to official sources in Nanking, China's Civil War has caused the greatest mass migration of displaced persons in modern history. The fluctuating struggle is believed to have uprooted at least 33,000,000 war refugees, with another 15,000,000 fleeing floods and famine."

"They dwarf all other postwar displacements of population. The heaviest previously reported has been in Eastern Europe, but the total there is still undetermined, for much of it has taken place behind Russia's iron curtain. On the Indian subcontinent the number of Moslems flocking from Hindustan into Pakistan and of Hindus and Sikhs straggling from Pakistan into Hindustan is estimated at 8,000,000, hundreds of thousands of whom still lie where they fell in communal massacres. But in China, war refugees from the northern provinces alone more than equal half the entire population of Pakistan. Moreover, they constitute a shifting population, unable to

settle anywhere. As the Communists advance or retreat, the refugees are driven back and forth like flotsam and jetsam on a moving tide.

"Taxed and retaxed out of everything they own, removed from productive toil, miserable and demoralized, these refugees descend like locusts on towns and villages already barely self-supporting. Significantly, the problem is at its worst on Shantung Peninsula, only lately wrested from control by the Communists."

## Censorship In China

**I**N reply to an announcement by Dr. Hollington Tong, Director of the Chinese Government Information Office, that press censorship did not exist in China today, the *New York Times* said that Dr. Tong "contends that there has been no censorship of the press in China since 1945; that no authority in the Chinese Government can control the press in the interests of official policy; and that Chinese newspaper editors, free to follow their own judgment, would be the first to resent any official invasion."

"Dr. Tong, no doubt, gives an accurate statement of the law and constitution of the Chinese Republic. He omits to mention that last October there was a restoration of wartime mail and telegraph censorship at the discretion of local authorities, and that, even before that time, the military had been accustomed to take action against newspapers publishing accounts of Communist victories or giving prominence to demonstrations by students."

"The authorities have, in fact, from time to time suspended newspapers which incited to violence; within the last two weeks they have inflicted the same penalty upon a newspaper which affronted Chinese Muslims."

"A formal censorship of Chinese newspapers may not be legally recognized, but the Executive Government and the Kuomintang can exercise control over any newspaper which fails to conform to the policy they favor."

"These powers, if wisely employed, may be defensible in a country distracted by Civil War and public unrest, as China is today. The British complaint is that they have not always been wisely employed."

## Gandhi's Death

**T**HE vast majority of US newspapers published editorials on the death of Mohandas K. Gandhi, lauding his long work for peace and goodwill among peoples, and expressing hope that India and Pakistan will achieve a peaceful solution of their present difficulties through the application of Gandhi's teach-

ings.

"Now is the time for the temporal leaders who survive Gandhi to slough off the despair into which this loss must plunge them and to strive with renewed vigor for an enduring settlement which will permit both India and Pakistan to harvest the fruit of the independence they have won," said the *Washington Post*. "Whatever the United Nations can do to advance such a settlement, should be pressed now with the utmost vigor...."

"Let us hope the indestructible moral idea which Mohandas Gandhi bequeathed to the people of India will be powerful enough to quell their passions. It is a universal idea. Upon it, in the last analysis, the whole world depends for redemption and regeneration."

"Although the nature of Gandhi's death shocked the world, his passing is no cause for mourning since few men live beyond their years," stated the *Richmond (Virginia) Times-Dispatch*. "It should be rather a cause for rejoicing that so great and courageous a soul, consecrated to an ideal cherished by all men of goodwill, should have lived in our time to set an example that could well be a pattern for world peace."

## Malaya

**I**T will be remembered that the Japanese made very quick work of their conquest and overrunning of Malaya. Even supposedly strong Singapore fell with deeply alarming rapidity," the *Birmingham Age-Herald* said. "Suddenly the Japanese were everywhere in this part of Southeast Asia. That is about the last impression many Americans have had of this area. There has not been much thought about it since."

"But things are going on over there—and in some respects they are decidedly encouraging things. This month a new constitution goes into effect under British administration. It provides for a strong centralized federal government in place of the prewar hotchpotch of Federated States, Unfederated States and the Straits Settlements. .... A status called common citizenship is being established throughout the Federation designed to enable Malays and those non-Malays who regard Malaya as their permanent home, to assume obligations and exercise full political rights on a basis of equality."

"The British Governor-General has told the people of Malaya that the political processes now in motion will not end until self-government is complete. The recent British record in other parts of the world—especially India—gives strong support to this assurance."



# What Chinese Papers Say

IN the past week the Chinese press commented on the development of Taiwan through Sino-US cooperation, analyzed the recent disturbances in Shanghai, and warned its readers of the resurgence of Japanese militarism.

## Taiwan

A recent report received by *Shun Pao*, KMT-supervised CC organ, indicated that China and the United States are in the process of discussing the possibility of developing the natural resources and aiding the industrial and mining enterprises in Taiwan. "The Americans are quite willing to invest and help in this, and lay stress on two points: Economically, they are willing to aid the industrial and mining enterprises in Taiwan, and militarily, they are willing to help us carry out the plan for the consideration of a naval base at Taiwan.

"In principle, there is already no question about such investment and cooperation, and just now the technical details are being studied. If the discussions prove fruitful, the US will not only give us economic aid, but also dispatch a large number of technical experts to Taiwan.

"An AP dispatch from Nanking indicated that while on his fact finding mission to China, General Wedemeyer proposed a plan for economic rehabilitation of South China. At this time when the whole nation is engaged in quelling a rebellion, and in an effort to increase production and to reconstruct the country, this news is most gratifying.

"As a result of 50 years of Japanese rule, Taiwan already has a fairly good industrial foundation. This industrial foundation, being centered on Japan, is not beneficial to Taiwan itself. Therefore, we must seek to correct it. If we want to establish an important industrial area like the Ruhr district, we must not ignore Taiwan.

"The fact that the US is going to cooperate with us in developing Taiwan is not only another indication of the traditional friendship between China and America, but also reflects the extension of the Marshall Plan to Asia. Up to the present, we still do not know whether Sino-American cooperation in Taiwan is going to be a part of the plan of US aid to China, but present indications are that if it is included in the American Government's aid to China program, we are afraid such cooperation will not achieve the desired results.

"This is because, according to press reports, the American Government's aid to China program calls for a total of only US\$300,000,000, which is to be paid over a period of 15 months. It seems to us that this will only be a drop in the bucket. If the cost of developing Taiwan is included in the amount of aid to be extended to China, the latter should be increased; otherwise, a separate

plan should be worked out.

"As to reconstruction of a military nature, that Taiwan is of great strategic importance is too plain to need any explanation. What is of especial interest to us is that the United States is going to help us carry out fully, our plan of building a naval base in Taiwan.

"In connection with our national reconstruction, we certainly should not fail to see the importance of a navy. It is hoped that as a result of Sino-American cooperation in Taiwan, the construction of a naval base can be completed according to plan, and that the economic resources of Taiwan can be utilized to the fullest extent. The stabilizing forces thus nurtured will be able to help ensure peace on the Pacific as well as in the whole world," concluded the *Shun Pao*.

## Shanghai Unrest

"DURING a short period of time, three serious incidents have taken place here in Shanghai. The Tung Chi University incident has been settled in a most smooth manner, thanks to Mayor K. C. Wu's wisdom in dealing with the affair. However, if the authorities think that such a great upheaval can be put down so easily, they are mistaken," the *Shih Shih Hsin Pao* declared.

"The student unrest at Tung Chi University was originally a minor matter and could have been satisfactorily settled. It is true that the small number of radical elements who took unlawful actions should be held responsible for the 'incident.' However, whenever a dispute arises in an institution of higher learning, it can certainly be settled if both parties to the dispute can appeal to reason.

"With regard to the storming of the offices of the Social Affairs Bureau by taxi dancers and other cabaret employees, such acts certainly should not be encouraged. It is possible that those in charge of the demonstration had originally planned to do some legitimate petitioning, but later on, the demonstrators were forced by their 'mob psychology' to enter the building, thus resulting in the incident. We should like to advise all those who want to utilize 'the masses' not to pride themselves any further on the fact that they enjoy the support of a majority of the people! Also, such incidents cannot be avoided by high-handed measures alone, and where there is no conclusive evidence, the authorities should not accuse others of being 'Communist bandits' at will.

"The Sung Sing No. 9 Cotton Mill incident seems to have been a dispute arising out of the workers' struggle for existence. The parties to the dispute could very well have tried to settle it by appointing representatives to negotiate or by inviting the public to arbitrate. Why was it that the Government officials, of which there are so many, did not pay much attention to this

matter beforehand and dispatched so large a military and police force to the scene of trouble after the dispute had been enlarged? What has the Social Affairs Bureau been doing, after all? To what problems has it been paying attention?

"Although the 'shoot to kill' order has been issued to the troops and police, we urge the authorities to seek a fundamental solution to the problem. The innocent people should not be threatened with death. For the sake of the personal safety of the 4,00,000 residents of Shanghai, we request the Government not to create any more 'incidents.'

## Japan

THE United States' rehabilitation plan for Japan is both economic and military in nature, the *Ta Kung Pao*, Independent, Political Science organ, said. "General MacArthur has announced that the ban on private investments in Japan has been lifted, and so have the restrictions on the entry of foreign businessmen into Japan. An 'industrial investigation mission to Japan' still remains in Tokyo, and an 'investing group' composed of more than 150 people will soon be going to Japan from the United States. Japan is no longer an enemy nation with which no peace treaty has yet been signed; she has already become a newly-discovered colony of the United States.

"Should the Japanese Textile industry be allowed to develop freely?' is a question which should be discussed and to which a correct answer must be given. To assert that the Japanese textile industry is a peace industry and that, therefore, it should be allowed to develop without restriction, is tantamount to tearing up the Potsdam Declaration and to helping Japan to nurture her war potential. To the United States, the economic significance of this would be the establishment of an extensive market for American raw cotton, the exchange of Japanese textiles for rubber and tin of the South Seas, and in the event of war, the production by Japan of materials for making military uniforms and other military supplies for US armed forces.

"So far as China is concerned, it will destroy her domestic industries and subordinate her to an industrialized Japan. Moreover, it will make it possible for America's heavy industries to control Japan's light industries. There can be no doubt that simultaneously with the development of her textile industry, Japan will also develop her navigation, and that in order to do this she will develop her iron and steel and ship-building industries.

"When Japan has developed her various kinds of industries, Japanese militarism will revive. Therefore, the unrestricted development of the Japanese textile industry will be the unrestricted development of Japan's war potential."

## NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

### A World Of Wisdom

THROUGH A MOON GATE, by L. Z. Yuan. Revised edition. Paper cover, 162 pages. Shanghai Mercury Press, 1948. CNC\$200,000. Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.

"KUNG Hsi Fah Tsai," is the heading of one chapter of Mr. Yuan's book and it is an appropriate salutation both for the present season and for the author upon this new edition of *Through a Moon Gate*.

Readers of Mr. Yuan's feature by this name in the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury* constantly get fresh and interesting sidelights into Chinese life and customs. Some readers regularly clip the column to send to friends in other countries. Now it is possible to get the material in attractive and permanent form. The first edition of the collected articles was published in 1938. All unsold copies were seized and destroyed by the Japanese shortly after Pearl Harbor. Now 10 years later a new edition appears, fresh and attractive.

For this time of year the chapters on Chinese Festivals and The Gods and Devils are particularly appropriate. However, there is no section that will not yield rich booty. It is true that customs and traditions vary somewhat in different parts of the country, but this fact gives one opportunity to add his own footnotes.

A mere recital of some of the chapter headings will give a notion of the subjects discussed (even though it gives no hint of the wisdom and whimsy to be found): We Live to Eat; Men and Women; On to the Next World; Peeping into the Future; Games and Pastimes; and Chopsuey, a final chapter which collects items from unexpected areas of Chinese life.

This is not a book to buy one copy at a time. If you do, you will soon find yourself without the book. It makes a perfect gift for visitors, a nostalgic memory for "Old China Hands" here or now "at home," an introduction for new arrivals, a "sensitizer" for western children fortunate enough to be living in this country, and for yourself—well, the best thing is to read and enjoy the book.

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### Blank Space

LAST CHANCE IN CHINA, Freda Utley. Published by The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Ind. 1947. pp. 408. US\$3.50. Reviewed by Harold R. Isaacs in the New York Times Weekly Book Review Section.

CHINA is today a blank space in the disorderly pattern of American world policy. Washington either does not know what to "do" about China or if it does know it is not sure how to go about it. Only recently a China specialist in the State Department caustically put it up to a visitor: "Here's your chance," he said, "to make American policy for China. If you've got an idea that will work, name it and we'll try it."

This is uncertainty compounded out of the confusion of past failures, both recent and remote. It is also due to the fact that China now, as during the war, is taking second place behind Europe in American policy.

For Freda Utley this is a tragic error. Miss Utley believes that if the United States had concentrated in the recent war on defeating Japan first and had funneled the greater volume of its lend-lease to China instead of Russia, the final victory would have been more conclusive because it would have prevented Russia from emerging as the major victor in the war. She thinks it would have been better for more Americans to have died in World War II than for today's American children to face death in World War III.

A disillusioned ex-Communist who lived in Russia and lost her husband in the purge, Miss Utley has made several trips to the Far East, the most recent during the year after the war ended. She sees Russia as the prime enemy of the future of mankind. She believes that no present evil in the world, like the Greek monarchy, the Turkish dictatorship, or a corrupt Chinese officialdom, is comparable to the Russian evil; that nothing was more naive than the notions that led President Roosevelt at Yalta to sign an agreement that launched Russia on its new drive for power in Asia. The same incomprehension of the Russian reality, she feels, led the Americans in China to try to get Chiang Kai-shek into a coalition with the Communists, on the theory that the Chinese Communists were "different" and could be "weaned" from Russian influence. These blunders played the Russian game in China and were climaxed by the failure of the Marshall mission. Since then the vacillating policy of the United States has almost, though not quite, lost this country the chance to win a non-totalitarian peace in Asia. As her title implies, Miss Utley believes there is a last chance to retrieve ground.

This is to be accomplished, she asserts, by all-out military and economic aid to Chiang Kai-shek, by reverting to the policies that were pursued in China by Ambassador Patrick Hurley and Lieut. Gen. Albert Wedemeyer. It might cost up to \$15 billion, she says, but would be well worth it, because "if we appease the Russian aggressor as we once appeased the Japanese aggressor, we shall go down to ruin. If we abandon China, we lose all Asia."

MISS UTLEY sees Chiang Kai-shek as a heroic, endlessly patient leader with godlike qualities of perseverance and devotion to his country. Like pro-Communists who find it possible to condone and rationalize all sorts of Communist evils and violence, Miss Utley has a softening explanation for all the acknowledged evils of Chiang Kai-shek's regime. Sometimes she seems to be persuading us that Chiang is preferable to Stalin mainly because he is less efficient as a dictator and because repression in China is less thorough than it is in Russia. Miss Utley is haunted by the countless victims of Stalin's terror, but she has apparently, without trouble, been able to lay the ghosts of the thousands of victims of Chiang's regime over the years.

Miss Utley has much to say that is cogent about the twisted political terminologies of our time and the hopeless distortions of liberalism as seen in the pro-Russian mirror. But the intent reader may want to know exactly where Miss Utley's reasoning takes her. She ends up by saying that the idea of a democratic China is "totally unrealistic" and that what China needs is an "authoritarian administration." She wishes it were true that America is, as Russia claims, out to dominate the world, and she wants a "new kind of world hegemony" under the aegis of a "Pax Americana." This brave new world would be compatible, presumably, with an "authoritarian" regime in China. Even those without an alternative answer must pause at this.

AT one point in her book Miss Utley admiringly quotes Chen Li-fu, Chiang Kai-shek's thought-control police chief, as saying that he drew 23,000 young men away from communism. "I don't know," says Miss Utley, "how he can make any exact calculation of this sort." But there are people who could have taken her to the graves where many more than 23,000 are buried, or to the dungeons in which they rotted away.

We can share Miss Utley's urgent fear of Russian totalitarianism. But it is more difficult to see how we are going to excise the menace by joining hands with the Chiang Kai-sheks and Chen Li-fus of China or of any country. If these are the only possible allies of democracy, then Miss Utley's, too, is a program for darkness.



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Dartell androgenic preparations, because of the ease and convenience of their administration, whether oral, parenteral or by inunction, insure greater patient control for the busy physician, and a gratifying, more effective relief for the patient. Descriptive literature is available on request.



#### **DPS Formula 110**

##### **Androgenic Hormones**

(Oral). Mixed androgens, essentially testosterone and androsterone, biologically assayed, in a base of vegetable lecithin and lactose. Each tablet contains 5 capon units.



#### **DPS Formula 303**

##### **Male Hormones Injection**

A sterile solution of mixed androgens in vegetable oil for intramuscular injection. Each cc contains 25 capon units of androgenic activity.